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A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
EAST COAST OF AFRICA

BY
L. W. HOLLINGSWORTH

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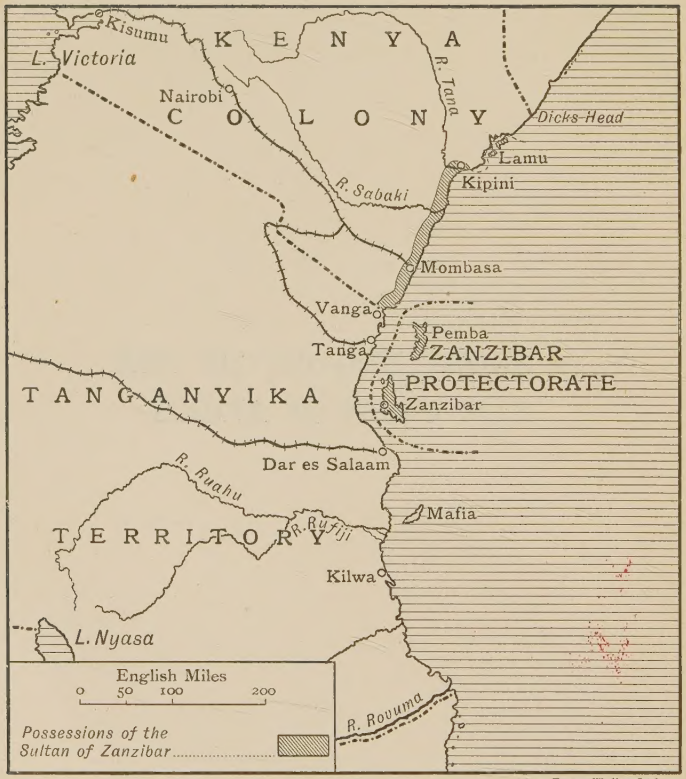

THE EAST COAST AT THE PRESENT DAY.

A SHORT HISTORY
OF THE
EAST COAST OF AFRICA

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PREFACE

When, in 1925, I wrote, in collaboration with Mr. W. H. Ingrams, *A School History of Zanzibar*, I had in view the immediate needs of Zanzibar Schools. The present little volume, though partly based upon the textbook mentioned above, has been compiled for use in mainland schools, and contains a good deal of additional information concerning the whole of the East Coast. At the request of the Publications Committee (Tanganyika Territory) a chapter has been written on the work of Christian Missions on the East Coast. In Muhammadan schools this chapter may be omitted, if desired, without in any way breaking the continuity of the book.

I should like to thank Sir Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., British Resident, Zanzibar, for his great kindness in reading through the first seven chapters, and for making several corrections and valuable suggestions.

I am indebted to Messrs. A. C. Gomes for their kind permission to utilize some of their photos.

L. W. H.

Zanzibar, *March*, 1929.

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CHAPTER I

THE EAST COAST IN ANCIENT TIMES

A. Introductory.

If we wish to understand the history of a country, we must also know something about its geography. Let us commence our story of the East Coast of Africa, therefore, by considering one or two important facts connected with the geography of this region.

Although this book is called *A Short History of the East Coast of Africa*, we shall not concern ourselves with the whole of the coast, but with the part which stretches from Cape Guardafui to Delagoa Bay, and especially with the portion which lies south of the Equator. For the greater part of its length this coastland is low-lying, fertile, and tropical in climate and vegetation. You have no doubt learnt in your geography lessons that this tropical coastal plain is entirely different from the great elevated plateau which forms the bulk of the interior of Eastern Africa. In many places the coast lands are also separated from the highlands of the interior by a strip of almost waterless wilderness called in Swahili the "Nyika." Bearing these facts in mind,

you will easily understand that the history of the coast has been quite distinct from that of the interior.

Many of you are probably familiar with the yearly visits of Arab dhows which bring to these

AN ARAB DHOW.

parts various kinds of eastern merchandise such as dates, dried shark, coffee and rugs. You also know that these vessels come here in January from Arabia and the Persian Gulf and that, after trading up and down the coast, they return to their own countries some time between the end of March and

early June. Why do they arrive and depart so regularly year after year? It is owing to the fact that they make use of the steady trade winds called the monsoons. The north-east monsoon, commencing in December, brings them to the East Coast of Africa, while the south-west monsoon which commences in March blows them back again across the 2,000 miles of the Indian Ocean.

For at least 3,000 years, sailors and traders have thus taken advantage of the monsoons, and some of these visitors have played a most important part in the history of the East Coast. The dhows which still visit our shores are, therefore, an interesting link with olden times, and help us to realize how the monsoon winds have affected the history of this part of Africa.

B. The Native Peoples of the East Coast.

We must now turn our attention to the native peoples of the coast region. The natives who now live along the coast were not the original inhabitants. Countless ages ago the greater part of Africa near the Equator was inhabited by entirely different people from those of the present day. It is thought that these earliest inhabitants were a dwarf-like people. The only natives left at the present day who resemble these aborigines are supposed to be the Bushmen of the Kalahari desert, the pygmies of the Semliki forest and Ruanda, the Wata who live

among the Gallas, and the Tomal, Yehir and Midgans who live among the Somalis.

It is said that the first negro people entered Africa many thousands of years ago from southern Asia. These people were black-skinned, woolly-haired, and had broad, flat noses. They introduced into Africa the banana and various edible roots such as the Colacasia which grows in profusion in the rivers of Zanzibar island. These men were the ancestors of the negroes now living in the Sudan. At a later period there came into Africa from a more north-westerly part of Asia a people of Hamitic race. They introduced the goat and the dog into Africa, and also various grains. These Hamitic peoples intermarried with the negroes and thus produced a race generally called the early Bantu. The Wanyamwezi, Wahehe, Washambaa and Wazaramo of Tanganyika Territory are representatives of these early Bantus.

Still later, probably 5,000 or 7,000 years ago, another kind of Hamitic people called the lighter Hamites, came into the continent either by Suez or the narrow Strait of Bab-el-Mandeb. The ancient Egyptians were the best known representatives of the lighter Hamites. Some of these men mingled with the earlier peoples, thus forming what are known as the younger Bantu. The Chaga tribes who inhabit Kilimanjaro and the Kikuyu of Kenya Colony belong to these younger Bantu. It will be

seen, therefore, that the race of Bantu are not quite the same as pure negroes. The latter people live in West Africa south of the Sahara desert. The Bantus are the result of a mixture of these negro peoples with various types of Hamitic peoples. With the exception of the Bushmen and Hottentots of South Africa, and the Masai, Nandi and kindred tribes of East Africa, nearly all the present-day natives of Africa who live south of Latitude 5° N. may be called Bantus.

How then do we distinguish between the Bantu and the pure negroes of West Africa? We can do so by studying their languages. There are several hundred Bantu languages, but they are all closely related and belong to one great family. On the other hand, the pure negroes speak languages which are quite different and distinct, so that even neighbouring tribes in West Africa are unable to understand one another. Now, although one Bantu tribe speaks a different language from another Bantu tribe, yet there are certain resemblances between all the Bantu languages which would enable a Bantu to learn another Bantu language much more easily than he would be able to learn a pure negro language. Thus a Mwanyamwezi would be able to pick up the Zulu language much more readily than one of the West African languages, because both the Mwanyamwezi and the Zulu belong to the Bantu race.

We shall more easily understand the fact that all

the Bantu languages belong to one family, if we examine several examples. Let us consider the word "Man" in one or two Bantu languages. In Zulu it is "Umu-ntu"; in Xosa it is "Um-tu"; in Luganda it is "Omun-tu"; while in Swahili it is "M-tu." You will readily perceive the similarity which exists between these various forms of the word "Man." Now let us look at the plurals. In Zulu the plural form "Men" is "Aba-ntu"; in Xosa it is "Aba-ntu"; in Luganda it is "Aba-ntu"; while in Swahili it is "Watu." Here you will notice that the grammar is similar in all four languages, for the plural of the noun is formed, in each case, by changing the prefix. One of the most striking features of all these Bantu languages is, in fact, this use of prefixes and also of suffixes. The prefix or the suffix is added to the root of the word. Thus in the above examples the root of all the forms is "Tu," and the plural is formed by altering the prefix in front of this root.

The grammar of all the Bantu languages is mainly based on the correct use of prefixes and suffixes, for adjectives, pronouns, and verbs change according to the noun with which they are related. Several examples from Swahili will perhaps make this clearer. A "good man" is "M-tu m-zuri," while a "good book" is "ki-tabu ki-zuri." In the above example it will be seen how the prefix of the adjective "zuri" changes in order to agree with its noun.

Let us look at another example. The sentence "Two men have arrived" is in Swahili, "Wa-tu wa-wili wa-mefika," whereas the sentence, "Two canoes have arrived" is "Mi-tumbwi mi-wili i-mefika." Here it will be noticed that both the adjective and the verb change in relation to the noun.

Another common feature of all the Bantu languages is that almost all the words end in vowels. If you think of a number of Swahili words, you will at once realize the truth of this statement.

We have spent some time in considering the meaning of the word Bantu, because the native peoples of the East Coast, most of whom are Swahili, belong to this race. The literal meaning of the word Swahili is "Coast People," for it comes from an Arabic word "Sahil" which means "Coast." The Swahilis are a Bantu people with a certain amount of Arab blood. We have already seen how, from very early times, visitors from Arabia have come to these parts. Many of these Arabs intermarried with the Bantu peoples living along the coast, thus forming the people usually known as Swahilis. In the same way, Swahili, although a Bantu language, contains a very large number of Arabic words.

C. Early Visitors to the East Coast.

There is practically nothing to relate about the native inhabitants of the Coast in early times

because they were an uncivilized people who left no written record of their past. This does not mean, however, that the East Coast possesses no early history. We have already seen that from quite early times visitors traded along the coast and thus brought it into contact with more civilized countries. We must therefore learn something about this commerce and these visitors, who had a considerable influence upon the people with whom they traded.

The three chief articles obtained from East Africa by the early traders were spices, ivory and slaves. In olden times spices were very highly prized in countries like ancient Egypt and Mesopotamia, and merchants were willing to go to great trouble and expense in order to obtain them, for they could be sold at great profit. The chief spice region of Eastern Africa was Somaliland. Cape Guardafui, which forms the eastern extremity of that country, was then known as "The Cape of Spices."

Ivory has always been an important African product. Africa has, in fact, always produced more ivory than other countries where the elephant is found owing to the fact that this animal is not used in Africa for domestic purposes as it is in Asia. Whereas the people of India and Burma have trained the elephant to perform various kinds of useful labour, the natives of Africa have been con-

tent merely to hunt the animal for the sake of its tusks. The ivory thus obtained was carried down to the coast and sold to the visiting traders. In ancient times there was a great demand for ivory in many eastern countries where it was used in the houses of the wealthy for tables, chairs, bedsteads, combs, caskets and other articles of luxury. Kings needed a great deal of ivory for the furnishing of their palaces. Thus in the Bible we read that King Solomon, "made a great throne of ivory, and overlaid it with the best gold." (1 Kings, x, 18.)

Lastly there was a great trade in slaves. The continent of Africa has suffered more from this terrible commerce than any part of the world. We shall learn more about the slave trade as our story develops.

Let us now consider a few facts about some of the earliest visitors to the East Coast.

(1) *Visitors from the Persian Gulf.*—Probably the earliest civilization in the world grew up in the neighbourhood of the Persian Gulf, in the country which is now called Iraq. In this country which is watered by the rivers Tigris and Euphrates there lived, about 7,000 years ago, a wonderful people named the Sumerians. They were the first people to make voyages on the open sea and they invented the first kind of sailing ship. After flourishing for more than a thousand years, the Sumerians were conquered by a more warlike people called the

Assyrians. Fortunately the latter did not destroy the civilization of the Sumerians but preserved and developed it. The Assyrians also made sea voyages and it is quite possible that they reached the East Coast of Africa. We are inclined to think that they did get as far as East Africa because a good deal of the magic practised among the coastal peoples is somewhat similar to the magic which we know existed among the Sumerians and the Assyrians.

There is another peculiar connection between the Assyrians and East Africa. In Assyrian writings and sculptures it was the custom to use the sign of a horn to indicate strength and chieftainship. A similar custom is to be found on the East Coast of Africa where the various chieftains made use of the same symbol of power and authority. Many of such horns, called in Swahili "Siwa," are still to be seen in various towns along the coast. Thus at Lamu there is a beautifully carved ivory horn which came from Shella. The Lamu horn is made of bronze and a photograph of it may be seen in the Museum at Zanzibar. In the same museum may be seen the two wooden horns which belonged to the "Mwenyi Mkuu" of Zanzibar (the former native ruler of the island, not to be confused with the Arab Sultan of Zanzibar).

(2) *Visitors from India.*—Although we do not know for certain whether the Assyrians actually

visited this region, we do know that from quite early times the Hindus made use of the monsoon winds to trade with East Africa. Not only did they come on trading voyages but they also made settlements on the coast, and some of them may have

TOMB OF HARUNI AT CHWAKA, PEMBA, SHOWING HORN AND PERSIAN SUN PATTERN.

penetrated into the interior as far as the region of the Great Lakes. If they did not actually journey far into the interior they certainly knew about the existence of the lakes and called that region "The Country of the Moon." The natives of this region are still called the Wanyamwezi (*i.e.* "The people of the moon").

They traded mainly in ivory and slaves, and probably employed the Wanyamwezi as porters. The latter have always been fond of trading and are the only natives of the interior who are willing to leave their own country for a period to act as porters in carrying merchandise to the coast.

(3) *The Ancient Egyptians.*—The land of Egypt became civilized almost as early as the country round the Persian Gulf. It is probable that the Egyptians copied their first sailing ships from those of the Sumerians. In time the Egyptians began to build larger vessels which were fitted with a single big square sail. From this Egyptian type of sail there was gradually evolved the large triangular shaped lateen sail used in the dhows of the present day.

We know a great deal about the history of the ancient Egyptians because they were a civilized people who left behind them a great literature. From their books we learn that as early as 5,000 years ago they had begun to send trading expeditions to a country which they called Punt. It is thought that Punt was the Egyptian name for Somaliland. From this part of East Africa there came the incense, gold, ivory and leopard skins used in the luxurious palaces of the kings and nobles of Egypt.

(4) *The Jews and the Phoenicians.*—Another ancient people who visited these coasts were the

Phoenicians, who lived on the eastern coast of the Mediterranean, their chief ports being Tyre and Sidon. They were neighbours of the Jews and in the time of King Solomon we read in the Bible about an alliance between the latter and King Hiram of Phoenicia. The actual words are as follows: "And there was peace between Hiram and Solomon; and they two made a league together." The two kings sent ships down the East Coast of Africa to the land of Ophir (by which is meant the modern Sofala) and obtained gold, silver, ivory, apes and peacocks (this probably means parrots, as peacocks are not found in that region). The date of this journey was approximately 1000 B.C.

It is also thought that there were settlements of Jews in the Grand Comoro and in Madagascar, for the people there have many Jewish customs and know such Jewish names as Abraham, Lot, Moses and Gideon. As they are not familiar with the names of the Jewish prophets who lived after the time of Solomon, it would seem that the Jews who came to this region must have arrived at a very early period, probably during the alliance of King Hiram and Solomon.

(5) *The First Visitors from Arabia.*—Lastly, we must consider the Arabs, the most important of all the visitors to the East Coast. For at least 3,000 years the history of East Africa has been closely linked up with that of Arabia, and the Arabs have

had a greater and more permanent influence than any of the other visitors to these parts.

The Southern Arabs have always been very skilful sailors and keen traders. In ancient times the ports of Southern Arabia were the centre of a most flourishing commerce, and some of the small states in that region became exceedingly wealthy and powerful. A glance at the map of the world will make this statement clearer. You will notice that the Arabian peninsula juts out like a vast wedge between the continents of Africa and Asia. On the east, in the region of the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb, Arabia almost touches Africa, while on the west it is very close to Persia and the west coast of India. Then on the north, Arabia is fairly close to the countries washed by the Mediterranean Sea.

Now, in olden times, there was a great deal of trade between such eastern countries as India, Mesopotamia, and Persia and countries which lay more to the west such as Egypt and Greece. Much of this eastern merchandise was carried by sea from the ports of the Persian Gulf and India, along the south coast of Arabia, and up the Red Sea to the port of Suez. If you look at a map, you will readily understand that the ports of Southern Arabia were a very convenient calling place on this journey between east and west. Moreover, the Arabs were more accustomed to the monsoon winds than any other people, and they also kept the navigation of

the Red Sea in their own hands. Goods coming from the East were therefore usually first carried to southern Arabia, and from there they were taken by the Arabs, either by sea or by caravan across the desert, to the countries bordering the Mediterranean Sea. Southern Arabia thus became a huge kind of market place or emporium where the merchandise of the eastern and western worlds was exchanged.

It was owing to this fact that the states of Southern Arabia became so wealthy and powerful. In addition to this kind of commerce, the Southern Arabs, as early as 3,000 years ago, had discovered that by making use of the north-east and south-west monsoons they could carry on a most valuable commerce with the East Coast of Africa. It became the custom to send every year a large fleet of ships to trade along the whole of the East African Coast. Some of these Arab dhows got as far south as Sofala and it is practically certain that the early Arabs obtained gold from a place called Zimbabwe in what is now called Rhodesia. No doubt at various places along the coast, especially on the various small islands lying just off the shore, they built for themselves proper trading settlements.

One of the most prosperous of the south Arabian states was that of Ausan, situated in the south-west of the peninsula. We know that Ausan was in a very flourishing condition as early as the seventh

century B.C. We also know that at a later period the East Coast of Africa was called the "Ausanitic Coast." This is a very interesting fact for it shows that the state of Ausan must have exercised a considerable power over the whole of the East Coast.

CHAPTER II

THE FIRST WRITTEN RECORDS OF THE COAST

About the beginning of the Christian era, sailors from the continent of Europe first began to trade in the Indian Ocean. Up to that time the only people accustomed to the navigation of the Indian Ocean had been the Arabs, Phoenicians and Hindus. These people had known about the monsoon winds for many centuries, but they had kept this valuable knowledge a profound secret. They did not wish traders from other countries to realise the existence of these winds, for they were naturally anxious to keep all the commerce of the Indian Ocean in their own hands.

In A.D. 45 a Roman sailor, Hippalus by name, made a journey down the Red Sea and passed through the Straits of Bab-el-Mandeb into the waters of the Indian Ocean where he was fortunate enough to discover the periodic changes of the north-east and south-west monsoons. Very soon this valuable information became known in various parts of the Roman Empire and traders from Europe began to appear in the Indian Ocean. About the same time several books in Greek and

Latin appeared in which this great sea and its ports were described.

The most interesting of these books which has survived to the present day is one called *The Periplus of the Erythræan Sea*. The word "Periplus" is a Greek word meaning "Guide-book," while the "Erythræan Sea" simply means the Indian Ocean. The *Periplus* is thus an ancient Guide-book of the Indian Ocean. It was written in Greek about A.D. 60 but the name of the author is unknown. In this guide-book there is a description of the various places visited on a journey from the Red Sea to the Persian Gulf, to India, and to the East African Coast. We shall, of course, only consider the portions of the *Periplus* which describe East Africa.

The following is the first passage in the *Periplus* which refers to the East African Coast:

"Beyond this place, the coast trending toward the south, there is the Market and Cape of Spices, an abrupt promontory, at the very end of the Berber coast toward the east. . . . There are imported into this market-town the things already mentioned (*i.e.* flint glass; dressed cloth; wheat; wine), and there are produced in it cinnamon and frankincense."

There are several points of interest in the above quotation. We have already seen in Chapter I that the olden name for Cape Guardafui was "The

Cape of Spices." The market of spices referred to is probably a place now called Olok which lies a little to the north-west of the Cape. It will be observed that the author of the *Periplus* mentions two spices, cinnamon and frankincense, as the chief exports of this part of Eastern Africa. Frankincense is a resin which is exuded from the frankincense tree, and, in ancient times, it was one of the most precious articles of commerce. It was greatly in demand in many eastern countries, where it was used as an incense, especially in connection with religious ceremonies. There are several references to this use of frankincense in the Bible. Thus in the book of Leviticus we read, "And when any will offer a meat offering unto the Lord, his offering shall be of fine flour; and he shall pour oil upon it, and put frankincense thereon." This spice was also employed for funeral purposes, especially in Egypt, where it was the custom to embalm a corpse before burial.

We must now return to the text of the *Periplus*. The next paragraph reads as follows:

"Beyond Tabae, after 400 stadia (*i.e.* about 40 miles), there is the village of Pano, and then after sailing 400 stadia (about 40 miles) along a promontory, toward which place the current also draws you, there is another market-town called Opone (this is probably at Ras Hafun, about 90 miles below Cape Guardafui), in which the same things are imported

as those already mentioned, and in it the greatest quantity of cinnamon is produced and slaves of the better sort, which are brought to Egypt in increasing numbers; and a great quantity of tortoise-shell, better than that found elsewhere."

The reference to the export of slaves to Egypt in the above passage is interesting. The trade in tortoise-shell is also worthy of notice, for it is still very common in this region. There used to be a great commerce in tortoise-shell in the Roman Empire. It was used in the manufacture of small receptacles, ornaments, and also for inlaying furniture and woodwork.

The next paragraph of the *Periplus* reads as follows:

"The voyage to all these far-side market-towns (*i.e.* the towns of Somaliland) is made from Egypt about the month of July. And ships are also customarily fitted out from the places across this sea (Indian Ocean), from Ariaca and Barygaza (this is the north-west coast of India, the modern Cutch, Kathiawar and Gujerat), bringing to these far-side market-towns the products of their own places: wheat, rice, clarified butter, sesame oil, cotton cloth, girdles and honey from the reed called sacchari (*i.e.* sugar). Some make the journey especially to these market-towns, and others exchange their cargoes while sailing along the coast."

This is an especially interesting quotation from

the *Periplus* as it gives us so many details of the ancient trade between the East Coast and the north-west coast of India. We have already noted the antiquity of this commerce in Chapter I. It will be noticed that most of the things brought from India are agricultural products, and it is of interest to note that the region of Gujerat is still one of the richest agricultural districts of India. By the term "clarified butter" the author of the *Periplus* probably means ghee, called "Samli" in the Swahili language. Ghee is formed by heating butter for about 12 hours and then taking off the oil, after the water has been evaporated. If it is carefully enclosed in leathern skins or earthen pots while it is still hot, it may be preserved for quite a long time. This explains why it was possible to carry ghee on such a long journey. In the last sentence of the above paragraph we are told that some of the merchants exchange their cargoes "while sailing along the coast." It is interesting to note that this custom survives down to the present day. Here then, in a book written more than 1,800 years ago, we have a striking proof of the long connection the Hindus of north-west India have had with the East Coast of Africa.

Let us now resume our reading of the *Periplus*.

"Beyond Opone, the shore trending more toward the south, first there are the small and great bluffs (*i.e.* cliffs) of Azania; this coast is destitute of har-

bours, but there are places where ships can lie at anchor, the shore being abrupt; and this course is of six days, the direction being south-west."

The word "Azania" in the above calls for some explanation. This was the word used by all the old Greek and Roman writers of geography to indicate the region lying between the modern Somaliland and Portuguese East Africa. It is possible that the word is derived from the old Arabic word "Ajem" meaning "not Arab" or "barbarian."

The description of the Coast in the *Periplus* continues as follows:

"Then come the small and great beach for another six days' course, and after that in order the courses of Azania, the first being called Serapion (probably Mogadishu), and the next Nicon (probably Barawa), and after that several rivers and other anchorages, one after the other, separately a rest and a run for each day, seven in all, until the Pyralaae Islands (Patta, Manda and Lamu), and what is called the 'channel' (the protected waterway which runs on the land side of the islands just mentioned): beyond which, a little to the south of south-west, after two courses of a day and a night along the Ausanitic Coast, is the island of Menouthias."

In order to understand properly the above passage you should follow the places mentioned on the map on p. 30. We have already seen the meaning of

the term "Ausanitic Coast" in Chapter I and how it demonstrates the close connection which existed between south-west Arabia and East Africa. The last word in the above passage is the name of an island, "Menouthias." It is thought that this word means either Zanzibar or Pemba, and most probably Pemba. Let us now see what the *Periplus* has to say about this place:

"The island of Menouthias, about 300 stadia (about 30 miles) from the mainland, low and wooded, in which there are rivers and many kinds of birds, and the mountain tortoise. There are no wild beasts except the crocodiles; but there (*i.e.* in this island) they do not attack men. In this place there are sewed boats, and canoes hollowed from single logs, which they use for fishing and catching tortoise. In this island they also catch them (*i.e.* fish) in a peculiar way, in wicker baskets, which they fasten across the channel opening between the breakers."

There are several points in the above passage which need explanation. The description of the island as being "low and wooded" might be truthfully applied to either Zanzibar or Pemba. The mention of crocodiles is peculiar. The ordinary crocodile is not found in either Zanzibar or Pemba at the present day. It will be noticed, however, that these crocodiles are said to be harmless ("they do not attack men"). By the word "crocodile"

the author therefore probably means the iguana or giant lizard, called in Swahili "Kenge." This animal, which is often 5 feet in length, is harmless to man and exists in Zanzibar and Pemba.

The mention of "sewed boats" and "canoes" is especially interesting, because it shows that many

CANOES HOLLOWED FROM SINGLE LOGS. (MITUMBWI.)

of the customs of the natives were just the same nearly 2,000 years ago as they are at the present day. By the words "sewed boats" the writer means the native vessels called in Swahili "mitepe," which are still very common along the coast, especially at Lamu. They are called "sewed boats" because the planks are sewed together instead of being nailed

in the usual fashion. The "canoes hollowed from single logs" are the ordinary small canoes made usually from the trunk of a mango tree, and called in Swahili "mitumbwi."

The peculiar form of fish-trap (wicker basket) described in the *Periplus* is still commonly used along the coast at the present day. In Swahili it is called "dema," and those of you who live along the coast must be quite familiar with its use.

The next part of the *Periplus* reads as follows:

"Along this coast live men of piratical habits, very great of stature, and under separate chiefs for each place. The Mapharitic chief governs it under some ancient right, that subjects it (*i.e.* the coast) to the sovereignty of the State that is become the first in Arabia. And the people of Muza (*i.e.* Mocha in Arabia) now hold it (*i.e.* the coast) under his authority, and send thither many large ships, using Arab captains and agents, who are familiar with them, and who know the whole coast and understand the language."

In the words, "The Mapharitic chief governs it under some ancient right," we have another reference to the firm hold possessed by the Southern Arabs over this region. The "Mapharitic Chief" was the sheikh of the Ma'afir tribe, a powerful tribe of Southern Arabia. Musa or Mocha was the chief port of the province of Ma'afir. The fact that the author of the *Periplus*, writing as long ago as

A.D. 60, refers to this authority being held under an "ancient right," that is, ancient in the year A.D. 60, shows how very old was this connection with Arabia. Then the author says that the Arab captains were in the habit of intermarrying with the natives of the coast. It was in this manner that the coastal race of Swahilis was formed. The natives referred to in this paragraph are probably the original negroes. The intermarriage of Arabs with Bantus took place at a later date.

The author then continues as follows: "There are imported into these markets (*i.e.* markets of the East Coast) the lances made at Muza (Mocha) especially for this trade, and hatchets and daggers and awls, and various kinds of glass; and at some places a little wine and wheat, not for trade, but to serve for getting the good-will of the savages. There are exported from these places a great quantity of ivory, but inferior to that of Adulis (Massowah), and rhinoceros-horn and tortoise-shell and a little palm-oil."

This list of imports and exports is very interesting. The hatchets, daggers and knives were no doubt exchanged with the natives for tortoise-shell and ivory. We have already noted, in the previous chapter, that ivory was the most important product obtained from the East African Coast. No doubt the implements imported were also used in connection with the hunting parties

which killed the elephants for the sake of their tusks.

The export of "palm-oil" is also a fact of great interest. The coconut palm is not indigenous to East Africa, but was introduced by the Hindus. The reference to palm oil in the *Periplus* thus shows that the coconut palm must have been introduced into East Africa at least 2,000 years ago, and is another proof of the connection which existed between India and East Africa in ancient times.

The last passage of the *Periplus* which refers to the East Coast is the following:

"And these markets of Azania are the very last of the Continent; for beyond these places the unexplored ocean curves round towards the west, . . . and mingles with the western sea" (*i.e.* the Atlantic Ocean).

This passage shows that the author of the *Periplus* knew that Africa was surrounded by the ocean and that it could be circumnavigated, although he states that the sea south of the last ports of Azania was unexplored.

So we come to the end of the parts of the *Periplus* which refer to East Africa. For the next six hundred years we have very little definite information about the East Coast. During the second and third centuries of the Christian era the mighty Roman Empire gradually decayed, until, in the third and fourth centuries, it was overrun and

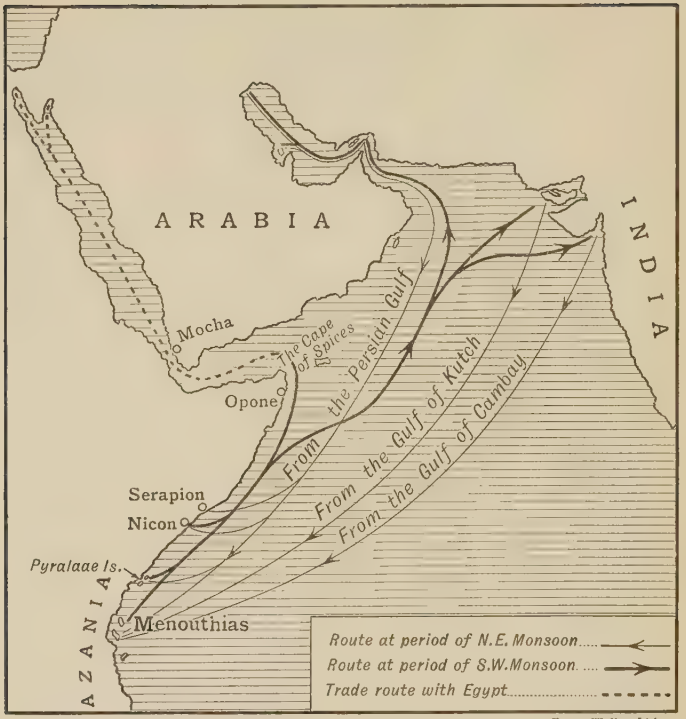
destroyed by barbarians from the north. Europe then entered into such a state of confusion and disorder that trade with the remote continent of Africa entirely ceased.

During this period the trade of the Southern Arabs with this coast decreased. There were two main reasons for this decline of trade. Firstly, in the second century, at Marib, the capital of the kingdom of Sheba in south-west Arabia, a large reservoir burst, and as a result the irrigation of that part of Arabia was seriously affected. It is of interest to note that there is a reference to this event in the Kuran, in the Sura called "As-Saba." The passage reads as follows: "So we sent upon them the flood of Irem; and we changed them their gardens into two gardens of bitter fruit and tamarisk and some few jujube trees . . . so we made them a tale, and scattered them with an utter scattering." So serious was the effect of this catastrophe that the prosperity of the whole of south-western Arabia diminished. There is no doubt that this also affected the trade of the Southern Arabs with Eastern Africa. The commerce never entirely ceased, but it was by no means as flourishing as it had been in former times.

Secondly, it was during this period that the Bantu peoples were invading the coastal district of East Africa. We have already seen in Chapter I how the aborigines were defeated and pushed

gradually southwards by these invaders. The Bantus were fiercer and better armed than the original negro peoples of the coast, so that probably their appearance checked, for a time, the visits of Arab and other traders.

We have seen in Chapter I that the origin of the Swahili race was the intermarriage of Arabs with the peoples of the coast. The reference to intermarriage which we noted in the *Periplus* probably referred to a period earlier than the coming of the Bantus, and showed that in those early times the Arabs intermarried with the negro peoples who were then found on the coast. The origin of the Swahili race as we know it at the present day was of later date, and occurred after the appearance of the Bantus on the coast. It is true that, for a time, the Arab trade with the coast declined, but soon after the time of Muhammad and the rise of the religion of Islam, Arabs began to come to East Africa in even greater numbers and to make stronger settlements than formerly. In order to understand this properly we must now turn, for a moment, to the history of Arabia and consider the effects brought about by the new religion of Islam preached by the prophet Muhammad.



ANCIENT TRADE ROUTES AND PLACES MENTIONED IN THE *PERIPLUS*

CHAPTER III

ISLAM AND THE CONVERSION OF THE COAST

A. The Rise of Islam.

The Prophet Muhammad was born at Mecca in A.D. 570. At that time the Arabs were a heathen people who worshipped idols and false gods. When Muhammad reached the age of forty years, he began to preach a new religion to the people of Mecca. He urged them to throw away their idols and turn to the worship of the one true God, Allah. He taught them that there is no God but Allah, and that Muhammad is the Prophet of God. This new religion became known as "Islam" (submission to the will of God), and the people who followed it were called Muslims or Muhammadans.

At first, only a few people followed the teaching of Muhammad. Most of the people of Mecca were very angry with Muhammad for preaching against their idols, and they made a plan to kill him. Muhammad was informed about this plot, so in the month of July in 622 he fled with his followers to the town of Medina, where he quickly converted a large number of townspeople to the religion of Islam. This flight of Muhammad from Mecca to

Medina is known as the "Hijra" (flight), and the year in which it took place, namely 622, is very important in the history of the world, for it marks the beginning of the Muhammadan Era. In Muhammadan countries all dates are reckoned from the year of the flight. When the letters "A.H." (*i.e.* Al Hijra) are placed after a date it means a certain number of years after the Flight of Muhammad to Medina. Thus Muhammadan dates are quite different from Christian dates, and a Muhammadan year is shorter than a Christian year. Owing to the fact that Muhammadans reckon their years by lunar months, there are only $354\frac{11}{30}$ days in the year as contrasted with 365 days in a Christian year. Thus the date 500 A.H. means 500 years after the Hijra. In Christian dates this would be written A.D. 1107 or 1107 years after the birth of Christ.

After the flight to Medina the power of Muhammad gradually spread over Arabia. In A.D. 630 (8 A.H.) he was able to conquer the city of Mecca and all the inhabitants embraced the new religion. When Muhammad died in A.D. 632 (11 A.H.) nearly the whole of Arabia had become Muhammadan.

In the above paragraph we have given both Muhammadan and Christian dates in order to illustrate the meaning of the former. For the remainder of the book, however, we shall keep to the usual Christian dates.

Let us now see what happened in Arabia after the death of Muhammad. One of the most important effects of the new religion was that it made the Arabs, for a time, more united than they had ever been before. Instead of all the numerous tribes of Arabia quarrelling and fighting among themselves as had formerly been the custom, they now combined to fight all their neighbours, and thus endeavour to convert as many peoples as possible to the new religion of Islam. Muhammad had taught his followers that a Muhammadan who died fighting on behalf of his religion would go straight to Paradise. Inspired with this belief, the Arabs fought with remarkable bravery, and for many years they were completely victorious. During the fifty years following the death of the Prophet they conquered in turn Syria, Mesopotamia, Persia, Egypt and North Africa, while in 711 they actually entered and overran Spain.

A great Arab Empire was thus formed. The ruler of this Empire was called the "Caliph" (Khalifa) or "Successor" of the Prophet. The first man to occupy this position was Abu Bekr, the faithful friend and disciple of Muhammad. Abu Bekr became Caliph immediately after the death of the Prophet. The next two Caliphs were Omar and Othman. In 656 the Caliph Othman was murdered and was succeeded by Ali. Shortly afterwards Muawiyah, the governor of Syria, claimed

the Caliphate, and so a bitter civil war broke out among the Arabs. This quarrel over the Caliphate was of immense importance because it resulted in the Arab Empire becoming disunited, and ultimately splitting up into numerous rival states. It also caused the whole of the Muhammadan world to become divided into two great divisions called the Sunnis and the Shias. Even at the present time, Muhammadans are still divided into these two hostile divisions. It is the belief of the Sunnis that Abu Bekr, Omar, Othman and Ali were the rightful successors of the Prophet in the office of the Caliphate, whereas the Shias regard the first three as usurpers and say that Ali, the son-in-law of Muhammad, was the first true successor.

We have spent some time considering the events which had been taking place in Arabia and neighbouring countries because they had a considerable influence on the history of East Africa. It was during this period that numbers of Arabs and Persians began to come to the East Coast and make permanent settlements there. We have already learnt that owing to disagreement over the question of the Caliphate, civil war broke out in various parts of the Arab Empire. When a number of people had been defeated in these wars they were forced to flee from their own country and seek a new home where they would be safe from the revenge of their victorious enemies. It was quite

natural that some of these fugitives should turn to the East Coast of Africa as a safe place of refuge. We have seen in Chapters I and II that there had already been a very long connection between East Africa and Arabia and the countries bordering the Persian Gulf. Many of these fugitives had probably heard about the Coast and its trade, and were aware of the wealth which existed there in the form of ivory, gold and slaves.

We must now turn our attention to the story of some of these settlers from Persia and Arabia. Although numerous bands came at different times, we have information concerning only a few of them. We do know, however, from local legends and also from the ruins of towns scattered in various places all along the coast, that there was a very definite Arab and Persian civilization flourishing for some four or five hundred years.

B. Immigrations from Asia.

(1) *Suleiman and Said.*—The first settlement about which we have any information took place towards the end of the seventh century during the Caliphate of Abdul Malik (685-705). The people of Oman, under the leadership of their chiefs Suleiman and Said, had rebelled against the authority of this Caliph. For a time the rebellion was successful but at last it was crushed by an army sent into Oman by the Caliph. Said and Suleiman were

then obliged to fly for their lives. Accompanied by their families and many members of their tribe, they came to the East Coast of Africa. It is not known where they settled, but it has been suggested that they made Pate their new home.

(2) *The People of Zaid.*—The next band of Arabs that we hear about were forced to fly from Arabia owing to a quarrel which broke out among the Shias. Early in the eighth century the Shias disagreed and split up into two hostile parties. One of these parties was led by Zaid, the great-grandson of Ali (the son-in-law of the Prophet). The followers of Zaid were known as the Ammu Zaid or the People of Zaid. In 739 Zaid was defeated and slain by the Caliph, and his followers were forced to flee for their lives. Some of them came to East Africa where they settled on the Benadir coast.

(3) *The Seven Brothers of El Hasa.*—For nearly 200 years the Ammu Zaid exercised considerable power on the Benadir coast. Towards the beginning of the tenth century, however, they were attacked by another band of immigrants. The latter came from a place called El Hasa. It is uncertain whether El Hasa is in Persia or Central Arabia. All that is known is that seven brothers fled from this place in three ships and came to the Benadir coast where they founded the towns of Mogadishu and Barawa. The Ammu Zaid refused to recognise the authority of the newcomers, and

retired into the interior, where they intermarried with the natives.

(4) *Hasan bin Ali.*—Lastly, we come to the story of Hasan bin Ali and his six sons. We obtain our information concerning him from several Coast historians. These accounts differ in minor details, but the main facts seem to be that Hasan bin Ali was either the son of the Sultan of Shiraz (in Persia) or the Sultan himself. For some reason which is uncertain he determined to leave Shiraz. Accompanied by his six sons and a number of followers, he left Persia in 975 with a fleet of seven ships. The people in these ships stopped and settled at various places along the East African Coast. The fourth ship stopped at Mombasa, the fifth at Pemba, the sixth, in which was Hasan himself, at Kilwa, and the seventh at Johanna in the Comoros. We shall learn more about this Persian settlement in the next chapter.

C. Conversion of the Coast.

As a result of the settlement along the Coast of these various bands of Arabs and Persians, all of whom were Muhammadans, the natives of this region gradually became converted to the religion of Islam. Let us try to discover at about what date this conversion probably took place.

The majority of the Muhammadan inhabitants of the Coast at the present time are Shafite Sunnis.

Muhammad bin Idris es Shafi, the founder of the Shafite school, started his teaching in 813. The Coast was therefore converted after this date (813). On the other hand it seems almost certain that the conversion took place before the arrival of Hasan bin Ali in 975. The latter was almost certainly a Shia so that if his influence had caused the natives to become Muhammadans they would have also followed the Shia doctrines. The people of the Coast must have apparently become converted, therefore, some time between 813 and 975. It is thought that they were converted most probably early in the tenth century by the men from El Hasa, for the latter were Shafite Sunnis.

CHAPTER IV

THE ZENJ EMPIRE

We must now learn what was happening on the Coast during the 500 years between the landing of Hasan bin Ali in 975 and the arrival of the Portuguese in 1497. These 500 years are often known as the period of the "Zenj Empire." "Zenj" or "Zanj" is a Persian word which means "black." Persian and Arab writers often referred to the Coast as "The Land of Zenj," that is, "The Land of the Blacks." The whole of the Coast was, in fact, called "Zenjibar" (Zanzibar). The word "Bar" means "coast." Thus in former times the word "Zanzibar" meaning "The Negro Coast" was used for the whole of the coastal region of East Africa. Gradually it lost this wide meaning and was only applied to the island which is still named Zanzibar.

During this period there existed all along the Coast a number of Persian and Arab states or sultanates. In the previous chapter we have seen how some of these states came into existence. It is owing to the fact that the Shirazi state of Kilwa held a kind of supremacy over most of the other

coastal states that we can thus talk about an "Empire."

During this period the ancient trade in ivory, slaves, and gold which had formerly existed between the East Coast and Asia was revived, and indeed became more flourishing than it had probably been in earlier times. Gradually the towns and trading centres on the Coast increased in size and prosperity. We are able to imagine a good deal about the wealth and importance of these places owing to the numerous groups of ruins scattered all along the coast. From an examination of these ruins we must come to the conclusion that the people who made these settlements had attained a considerable degree of civilization.

Kilwa was not only the most powerful of the coastal states, but also exercised a great influence on the culture of the whole region. We have already learnt that the founders of the state of Kilwa were Shirazis. The civilization which sprang up during the tenth, eleventh and twelfth centuries was therefore Shirazian or ancient Persian in character. These Persian settlers also left their mark upon the natives of the region, for there was a certain amount of intermarrying. Even at the present day a proportion of the native population of the coastal region claim to be of Shirazian or ancient Persian descent.

It is almost certain that the Shirazis introduced

to the East Coast the art of building in stone, the manufacture and use of lime and cement, the art of wood-carving and the weaving of cotton. During the time of their greatest influence the Shirazis erected many beautiful mosques and stone buildings. Their architecture was of a distinctive kind

RUINED MOSQUE AT KILWA KISIWANI.

so that it is possible to distinguish fairly easily the ruins which are of Shirazi origin. The chief characteristics of the Shirazi style are the pointed arch, the use of carefully dressed or cut limestone, the rectangular type of wall recess, and the general refinement of the whole design. Many of the mosques were of an elaborate nature and were

decorated with artistic pillars and cupolas. For example, in one of the ruined mosques at Kilwa Kisiwani there are forty columns arranged in four rows, thus dividing the mosque into squares each of which is surmounted by a cupola.

Near many of these old ruins there have been discovered various interesting objects which further prove the culture and refinement of the Shirazi period. The most common of these articles are numerous pieces of ancient Chinese pottery, fragments of Syrian and Arabian glass vessels, and pieces of finely wrought gold ornaments.

Yet another proof of the permanent nature of these towns is the care which was taken with the burial of the dead. At various places along the coast may still be seen elaborate Shirazi tombs. One of the most interesting features of these tombs is a tall stone pillar which usually rises from one end of the stone wall. They are therefore often known as "Pillared Tombs." (See illustration p. 43.) Many of the tombs are beautifully built with skilful workmanship and artistic decoration. Very often porcelain plates or bowls were embedded in the walls as an additional embellishment. Decorations of this description have been found in tombs at Kilwa Kisiwani, Pemba, Lamu and other places along the coast which came under Shirazi influence.

Apart from the evidence of these ruins and relics we are also able to gain a certain amount of infor-

A PILLARED TOMB AT NDAGONI, PEMBA.

mation concerning this period from the writings of several Arab travellers and geographers, and from various coastal legends and traditions. The most

interesting of the local documents is "The Arab Chronicles of Kilwa." This chronicle describes how the state of Kilwa was founded at the end of the tenth century by Hasan bin Ali, and it also contains a lengthy list of all the Sultans who succeeded him.

Earlier in the same century an Arab of Bagdad, called Masudi, visited the East Coast and wrote a book describing his travels. His visit probably took place about the year 915. The following passage from the writings of Masudi shows that the trade in ivory was still of great importance at that time:

"Elephants are extremely common in the Land of Zinj (*i.e.* the East Coast); but they are wild and none are kept in captivity. The natives do not employ them in warfare nor for any other purpose, but they hunt them merely in order to kill them. It is from this country that large elephant tusks (*i.e.* ivory) are obtained. Most of the ivory is carried to Oman whence it is sent to India and China."

This passage proves that the bulk of the ivory used in such eastern countries as India and China was imported from the East Coast of Africa in Omani vessels. We have already seen in Chapter I that, unlike the peoples of Asia, the natives of East Africa have never used the elephant for domestic purposes, but have merely hunted it for the sake of its tusks as described in the above passage.

MODERN TOMB OF WAHADIMU AT PAJE, ZANZIBAR.
It is decorated with plates, no doubt a survival from the Persians.

Now we must consider another Arab writer named Idris. In the year 1154 he compiled a map of the world as it was known at that time, and he also wrote notes to go along with the map. He says that the king of the whole coast lived at Mombasa, and that the inhabitants of Mogadishu, Marka and Barawa were Muhammadans. The following passage about the slave trade is interesting:

"The blacks have at the bottom of their hearts a great respect for the Arabs. For this reason, when they see an Arab, whether a traveller or a merchant, they prostrate themselves before him. The visitors to this country steal their children, enticing them away by means of giving them fruit. They carry the children from place to place and finally take possession of them and carry them off to their own country."

The above passage gives us a very vivid picture of one of the means by which young slaves were obtained.

The next writer who mentions East Africa is an Arab traveller called Yakut (1179-1229). We shall discuss his book when we deal with the islands of Tumbatu and Zanzibar, towards the end of this chapter.

We must next consider a writer called Ibn Batuta, who in 1324 left his native city of Tangier to perform the pilgrimage to Mecca, and afterwards visited the coast of East Africa. He wrote most

interesting descriptions of Mogadishu, Mombasa and Kilwa. He informs us that Mogadishu was an exceedingly large city inhabited by rich merchants, and governed by a Sultan who was called the "Sheikh" by his subjects. At the time of Ibn Batuta's visit the reigning Sultan was named Abubakr bin Omar. He tells us that beautiful cloth was manufactured in the town and exported to Egypt. The following is his description of the food of the inhabitants: "Their food generally consists of rice roasted with oil and placed on a large wooden dish. Over this they place a large dish of roasted meat, which consists of fish, flesh, fowl and vegetables. They also cook unripe bananas in new milk. . . . The people of Mogadishu are very corpulent. One of them eats as much as several of us."

Ibn Batuta then describes how the Sultan, surrounded by his courtiers, attended the Friday prayers at the mosque. A canopy of coloured silk was carried over his head as he walked in state through the town, and he was preceded by a band of musicians. On Saturdays the Sultan used to hold a baraza or state reception at his residence, when the ministers, kadhis and principal inhabitants of the town were entertained with food and drink.

Let us now see what Ibn Batuta has to say about Mombasa at the time of his visit. He states

that Mombasa was a large city abounding with the banana, lemon and citron. The chief food of the inhabitants, according to his account, was fish and bananas. The grain which was eaten had to be imported from other places as none was grown on the island. He goes on to say that the inhabitants of Mombasa were Shafite Sunnis and that in character they were religious, chaste and honest. The mosques were solidly built of wood, and he describes how the worshippers, before entering, performed the ceremonial ablutions.

After staying one night at Mombasa, Ibn Batuta proceeded by sea to Kilwa, which, he says, was a large town composed of wooden houses. The inhabitants were Shafite Sunnis, and the reigning Sultan was named Abu-el-Mazaffir Hassan. The latter was constantly waging war with the neighbouring heathen savages. He was a very pious man who was very liberal in giving alms.

Let us now consider in a little more detail a few facts about some of the chief states of the Zenj Empire.

(1) *Kilwa.*—There are two places on the coast called Kilwa: firstly, there is the island named Kilwa Kisiwani, and secondly, there is the town of Kilwa Kivinje, situated on the mainland a little to the north of Kilwa Kisiwani. It was on the island that Hasan bin Ali landed in 975. We are told in the *Chronicles of Kilwa* that he purchased the island

from the neighbouring natives at the price of fencing it round with cloth. On discovering that the place was only an island at high tide, he proceeded to deepen the channel which separated it from the mainland in order to make himself more secure from attack. Having completed this work he erected fortifications as another safeguard.

Hasan bin Ali then gradually extended his authority over the neighbouring coast. At the time of his death his influence extended from Sofala in the south to Pemba in the north. Sofala was an important place because it was from this port that most of the gold obtained from the interior (the land now called Rhodesia) was shipped. It will be remembered that even in very early days the Arabs had penetrated as far south as Sofala in search of gold. (Chapter I, p. 15.)

Hasan was succeeded by his son Ali who ruled for forty years. During his reign Ali established his son, Muhammad, as governor of Mombasa. Some time after the death of Ali the island of Kilwa was overrun by savages from the mainland, and the Sultan, a grandson of the original founder, was forced to flee for safety to Zanzibar. His subjects ultimately succeeded in driving out the invaders, and he returned to Kilwa where he reigned for 14 years.

Altogether there were twenty-nine Sultans of Kilwa. The last was Fudayl bin Suleiman, who

was Sultan at the time when the Portuguese made themselves masters of the coast.

(2) *Mombasa.*—Mombasa was a flourishing port during the period of the Zenj Empire. According to the *Chronicles of Kilwa* the town was founded by the occupants of the fourth ship in the fleet of seven ships which came to the East Coast in 975 under the leadership of Hasan bin Ali. We noted in the preceding paragraph how Muhammad, the son of Ali, the second Sultan of Kilwa, was sent as governor of Mombasa early in the eleventh century.

There is in existence an Arab Chronicle of Mombasa. Unfortunately it does not give us any information concerning the period of the Zenj Empire. It opens with the statement that the last Shirazian Sultan of Mombasa was Shahat bin Masham, and that during his reign the Portuguese arrived at Mombasa.

In an earlier part of this chapter we have already noted a description of Mombasa in 1324 written by the Arab traveller, Ibn Batuta.

(3) *Zanzibar, Tumbatu and Pemba.*—We do not possess much definite information concerning these three islands during this period. There are, however, quite a number of Shirazian ruins scattered about the three islands, and from these we are able to judge that there existed during this period well built towns with houses of stone and mortar, and large mosques.

At the village of Kizimkazi in the south of Zanzibar Island is an ancient mosque which is one of the most interesting buildings on the East Coast. There seems no doubt that the mosque was built early in the Shirazian period. Round the mihrab is an inscription in Cufic characters. Cufic is a very ancient form of Arabic writing and it was in these characters that the Koran was originally written. The use of this writing on the mosque at Kizimkazi, therefore, shows its great antiquity. The inscription has recently been deciphered and reads as follows: "Ordered Es Sheikh es Sayyid Abi Amran, Mfaume El Hassan bin Muhammad, may God grant him long life and destroy his enemy, the building of this mosque, on the day of Sunday in the month of El Keda in the year 500 A.H." (A.D. 1107). The word "Mfaume" is simply the old form of the Swahili "Mfalme" (King).

There are some very interesting ruins on Tumbatu, a tiny island situated off the north-west corner of Zanzibar Island. These ruins are the most extensive that have been found in Zanzibar and Pemba, and indicate that the town which used to stand there was formerly one of the largest on the East African Coast.

The island of Tumbatu is also mentioned in the geographical dictionary of a thirteenth-century traveller named Yakut. This writer tells us that the inhabitants of Tumbatu were Muhammadans,

and that the men of the neighbouring island of Zanzibar were in the habit of fleeing to Tumbatu to seek safety from their enemies.

When the Portuguese visited Zanzibar in 1500, however, they made no reference to Tumbatu. This seems to show that by that date the island was no longer of any importance.

Judging by the extensive nature of the ruins it would seem that a band of Persians, probably early in the thirteenth century, settled on the island and built a town which ultimately became a trading centre and port of call for trading ships from the East. No doubt there was a certain amount of intermarriage between the Persian settlers and the Bantu inhabitants of Zanzibar Island. After several centuries the settlement apparently declined in prosperity and the Persians moved to a more flourishing spot. The people of mixed Persian and Bantu blood remained, however, thus forming the ancestors of the Watumbatu, the present-day inhabitants of this tiny island. The Watumbatu claim to have Persian blood and keep aloof from the ordinary natives of Zanzibar. They are noted along the coast as skilful pilots and sailors, and it is probable that this knowledge has descended to them from the original Shirazi or Persian inhabitants of the island.

Let us now consider the island of Pemba. No written history of Pemba during the period of the

Zenj Empire has yet been discovered. There are, however, a considerable number of ruins scattered over the island, which would seem to indicate that it was a place of considerable importance. According to local traditions, the island was divided into five districts during this period, and each of these districts had seven towns. If this is true, Pemba must have been one of the most important places in the Zenj Empire. There is little doubt that Pemba was at that time a much more important place than Zanzibar, for whereas only five groups of ruins have been found in the latter island, there are at least fifteen in Pemba.

(4) *Vumba.*—Vumba was an important state during this period. It consisted of the district watered by the river Umba, some fifty miles south of Mombasa. Unfortunately, the principal written history of this state, an Arab document called *The Chronicles of Vumba Kuu*, was destroyed in the year 1895. A good deal is known about the place, however, owing to the fact that some years ago Sir Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E. (British Resident of Zanzibar), visited Vumba and collected a great deal of information from various local people who were well acquainted with the traditions and legends of the district.

It is thought that the state of Vumba was founded about the year 1204. The chief town was called Vumba Kuu and was situated between Vanga and

Jasin. Judging by the ruins which can still be seen in the thick jungle of the district, Vumba Kuù must have been quite a large city.

The rulers of the state of Vumba were called "Mwana Chambi" until 1544 when the name was changed to "Mwana Chambi Chandi." Still later, in 1700, it was changed to "Diwan." During the period of the Zenj Empire it would appear that the rulers of Vumba were considered as important as most of the rulers on the coast. It was the custom to give all these Sultans a nickname. The first ruler of Vumba was nicknamed Zumbura.

(5) *The Lamu Archipelago.*—The principal islands of the Lamu Archipelago are Lamu, Manda and Pate. They are separated from the mainland and from one another by narrow channels or creeks overgrown with mangroves. It is not surprising, therefore, that immigrants settled at the head of such creeks where they would readily defend themselves from the attacks of enemies. There are ruins of Persian buildings on all three islands and the present-day inhabitants are largely of Persian descent.

(6) *Mogadishu.*—We have already noted that this town was founded by the brethren of El Hasa at the beginning of the tenth century. It was a place of considerable importance, but apparently never came under the domination of Kilwa. In an earlier section of this chapter we have read an

interesting description of the town as it existed in 1324 when visited by Ibn Batuta.

THE CHIEF STATES OF THE ZENJ EMPIRE.

CHAPTER V

VISITORS FROM THE FAR EAST

The Zenj Empire was brought to an end by the coming of the Portuguese. Before we learn about that event, however, let us consider the visits to these regions of several groups of people from the Far East.

(1) *The Chinese.*—We have definite knowledge that the Chinese visited the East Coast during the Middle Ages for the purpose of trade. Chinese coins dating from as early as 700 have been picked up at several places on the Coast. In addition many fragments of Chinese pottery have been found. This pottery has been examined by experts and identified as belonging to the Sung Dynasty (960-1279) and the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644).

Many Chinese authors during the period of the Sung Dynasty were well acquainted with this East African trade and they usually referred to this part of the world as Tsengpat or Tseng-Po. These writers state that the principal articles sought by the Chinese traders were gold, ivory, leopard skins, tortoise-shell and rhinoceros horns. We learn from these accounts that quite a large fleet of Chinese

vessels (known as "junks") came annually. It was the custom to trade along the Coast for about six months and to return to China when the change of monsoon occurred. We know from the books of several Chinese historians that Mogadishu was visited by the last of these fleets in the year 1430.

(2) *The Malays.*—There is little doubt that the Malays came to these regions from time to time though it is difficult to ascertain when they first appeared. They reached Madagascar a very long time ago and influenced the language of that island. In addition to this ancient migration, there was another invasion of Madagascar by the Malays as recently as 400 years ago. They landed on the east coast of the island and moving inwards formed a tribe known as the Antemerina.

The areca palm, the betel and the sugar-cane are indigenous to Malay. It is just possible that these plants were originally brought to the East Coast by these people, though it is more probable that they were introduced by the Portuguese. The habit of betel-chewing which is very prevalent along the Coast originated in Malay. This habit may, therefore, have been introduced by the Malays.

(3) *The Wadebuli.* -Finally there are legends on the Coast about the visits of some people called the Wadiba or Wadebuli. According to coastal tradition these people came here before the Shirazis. It is also stated by the natives of the Coast that the

ARECA PALMS.

Wadebuli were frequent visitors, that some of them settled, that they planted coconuts, possessed cannon and had sailing ships of palm leaves.

There can be no doubt that these people did come, though there is some doubt as to where they came from. For various reasons it is thought that their home was Dabbol, a port of considerable historic importance on the west of India. It used to do a good deal of trade all over the East in olden times.

CHAPTER VI

THE COMING OF THE PORTUGUESE

(1) *Portuguese Exploration.*—In Chapter IV we learnt a few facts about the history of the East Coast during the 500 years of the Zenj Empire. We must now see how this empire came to be overthrown by the Portuguese. The latter were the first people from Europe to visit these regions since the time of the Greek and Roman traders who had come in the opening centuries of the Christian Era.

In fact, from the fifth century A.D., when the Roman Empire had been destroyed by the invasions of barbarians, until the coming of the Portuguese at the beginning of the sixteenth century, there had been very little connection between Europe and Africa. This was due to the fact that for many centuries after the downfall of the mighty Roman Empire, Europe had been in such a state of confusion, bloodshed, and ignorance, that all trade and intercourse with the outside world had practically ceased. This period is usually known in European history as "The Dark Ages." Ultimately, when Europe began to settle down again and to emerge

from this state of darkness, trade was gradually renewed with distant countries. During the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries, in fact, the people of Europe began to explore many parts of the world which had hitherto never been visited by Europeans. These two centuries are therefore often called "The Age of Discovery and Exploration." Some of you may have read in your geography books about the wonderful voyage of Christopher Columbus to the West Indies in 1492, and how this led to the discovery of the continents of North and South America.

In this book, however, we are only concerned with the explorations of the Portuguese, because they were the first Europeans to explore thoroughly the coastline of Africa. During the fifteenth century various Portuguese sailors attempted to find a sea route to India and the Far East by sailing round the southernmost point of Africa. It must be remembered that, at that time, the people of Europe knew very little about the actual size of Africa. The real size of this vast continent was, in fact, greatly underestimated and it was believed that Africa only stretched as far south as the Equator. There were no accurate maps in those days and even scholars did not possess very much information concerning the geography of distant lands. It was known, however, that if a ship sailed down the West Coast of Africa and rounded the end of

the continent, it would then be possible to reach India by sailing eastwards across the Indian Ocean.

It was a very long time before any Portuguese sailor actually managed to get as far as the southernmost point of Africa. Very little was known about the winds and currents off the West Coast, so that explorers were forced to turn homewards before they had reached their goal. Yet year after year various Portuguese explorers persevered in their quest. By the year 1460 they had only penetrated as far as 10° N. along the West Coast. Soon afterwards some other Portuguese sailors got a little further south and then found that the coast turned sharply to the east, and naturally thought that at last the southern extremity of the continent had been reached. To their astonishment and disappointment, however, after sailing eastwards for some time they discovered that the coast again turned southwards so that the end of the continent had not been found. A glance at the map will show you that they had only got as far as the great Gulf of Guinea.

It was in 1486 that the first great success was achieved. In that year a Portuguese named Bartholomew Diaz actually rounded the southern extremity of Africa and sailed up the East Coast as far as the Great Fish River. Owing to the rough weather he had encountered, his sailors refused to

go any further so that he was obliged to return home without reaching India. On his return to Portugal he told the King about his adventures and said that he had named the southern cape "The Cape of Storms," on account of the terrible tempests which he had experienced in those regions. The King of Portugal, however, refused to accept this name and said that the Cape should be called "The Cape of Good Hope," as its circumnavigation meant that the sea route to India had now almost been discovered.

It was not until ten years later that another Portuguese explorer named Vasco da Gama actually reached India by this route. Leaving Lisbon on 8th July, 1497, he rounded the Cape of Good Hope in December, sailed along the East Coast and anchored at Mozambique on 2nd March, 1498. He then continued along the East Coast and anchored off Mombasa on 7th April, 1498. After nearly suffering shipwreck while attempting to enter Mombasa harbour, he proceeded to Malindi where he was hospitably received by the inhabitants. Here he obtained pilots to guide him on the remainder of his journey across the Indian Ocean. Setting sail after nine days at Malindi, he reached Calicut in India on 28th May, 1498. Thus after nearly a century of patient exploration the Portuguese at last reached India by the sea route round the south of Africa.

On the return voyage from India, where he remained trading for nearly a year, Vasco da Gama again stopped at Malindi and erected a stone pillar at the south of the town. This pillar, or a similar one built on the same site at a later date, is still in existence. Leaving Malindi, Vasco da Gama

VASCO DA GAMA'S PILLAR, MALINDI

returned along the East Coast and, after again rounding the Cape, arrived back in Lisbon in September, 1499.

(2) *The Portuguese Conquest of the Coast* (1500-1509).—As a result of this memorable voyage of Vasco da Gama, the Portuguese immediately began to send out regular trading expeditions to India

and the East. More and more of their ships began to appear in the waters of the Indian Ocean, and by the middle of the sixteenth century the Portuguese had created a great commercial empire in the East, which included Ormuz at the entrance to the Persian Gulf; the ports of Muscat, Sohar, and Karyat in Oman; various trading stations along the West coast of India; parts of Ceylon; Malacca; and a number of possessions in the Malay Archipelago. The East Coast of Africa also became part of this extensive Empire. Year after year the riches of the East were carried across the Indian Ocean to Portugal, and the latter country became very rich and powerful.

In this book, however, we are only concerned with the dealings of the Portuguese with the East Coast of Africa. Directly the Portuguese began to make regular trading voyages to the East they realized that it would be advantageous to gain possession of the East Coast so that they would have a number of convenient ports of call where their ships might obtain water and fresh provisions on their long voyage. The ports along the East Coast were thus a kind of half-way calling house between Portugal and the East. In the eyes of the Portuguese, in fact, their possessions along the East Coast of Africa were never considered to be as important as their more wealthy dominions situated on the other side of the Indian Ocean.

Let us now consider the main events in the conquest of the East Coast by the Portuguese and the consequent downfall of the Zenj Empire. In 1502 Vasco da Gama made his second voyage to India. On the outward journey he called at Kilwa and forced the reigning Sultan to agree to pay yearly tribute to the King of Portugal. In the following year another Portuguese commander, called Ruy Lourenco Ravasco, cruised off the island of Zanzibar for two months, and during that time captured twenty local ships laden with ivory, tortoise-shell, wax, silk, and cotton stuffs. The ruler of Zanzibar, indignant at such conduct, attempted to resist the Portuguese by manning all his canoes with four thousand men. Ravasco, by means of two boats carrying cannon, quickly dispersed these vessels, and forced the ruler of Zanzibar to pay a yearly tribute of one hundred meticals of gold (about £87) and thirty sheep. In 1505, the Portuguese Governor of India, named Dom Francisco d'Almeida, stopped at Kilwa on his way to India. Finding that the Sultan of Kilwa had failed to pay the tribute which he had promised at the time of Vasco da Gama's visit, he landed a force of 500 men and set fire to the town. He then deposed the Sultan and put in his place a man called Muhammad Ankoni. The citizens of Kilwa agreed to pay a yearly tribute of 2,000 meticals of gold (about £1,100) and to acknowledge the supremacy of the

King of Portugal. Almeida then proceeded to Mombasa where he ordered the Sultan to surrender. As the latter refused to do so, Almeida promptly stormed and sacked the town. In the same year the Portuguese began to erect stone forts at Kilwa and Sofala. The next year the Sultan of Lamu also surrendered to the Portuguese and promised to pay a yearly tribute.

In 1509, the King of Portugal appointed an official, called Dom Duarte de Lemos, to be the Governor of all the Portuguese possessions in Africa and Arabia. This Governor then visited the islands of Mafia, Pemba, and Zanzibar in order to collect the tribute which had not been paid by the inhabitants. Mafia submitted, but the people of Pemba fled to Mombasa taking most of their possessions with them. Zanzibar also resisted the demands of the Governor. The principal town of Zanzibar Island was then captured and looted by the Portuguese and the inhabitants were forced to flee into the bush.

Thus in a comparatively short time all the important coastal towns were forced to acknowledge the supremacy of the Portuguese and to pay a yearly tribute to the King of Portugal. It was also the custom of the Portuguese to permit the local Sultans to remain as nominal rulers provided that they carried out the wishes of their conquerors and saw that the yearly tribute was duly collected.

(3) *A Contemporary Portuguese Description of the Coast.*—There is in existence a most interesting book written by a Portuguese official named Duarte Barbosa, who described these coastal towns as they were about the year 1612. He writes as follows about Kilwa:

"It is a Moorish (*i.e.* Muhammadan) town with many fair houses of stone and mortar, with many windows after our fashion, very well arranged in streets, with many flat roofs. The doors are of wood, well carved, with excellent joinery. Around it are streams and orchards and fruit-gardens with many channels of sweet water. It has a Moorish king over it. From this place they trade with Sofala, whence they bring back gold, and from here they spread all over Southern Arabia. . . . Of the Moors there are some fair and some black, they are finely clad in many rich garments of gold and silver and cotton, and the women as well; also with much gold and silver in chains and bracelets, which they wear on their legs and arms, and many jewelled earrings in their ears. These Moors speak Arabic and follow the creed of the Kuran, and have great faith in Muhammad."

It will be noted from the above passage that the trade in gold from Sofala was still of considerable importance. The following is a description of Mombasa written by the same author:

"There is an island hard by the mainland, on

which is a town called Mombasa. It is a very fair place, with lofty stone and mortar houses, well aligned in streets, after the fashion of Kilwa. The wood is well fitted with excellent joiner's work. It has its own king, himself a Moor. This is a place of great traffic, and has a good harbour, in which are always moored craft of many kinds and also great ships, both of those which come from Sofala and those which go thither, and others which come from the great kingdom of Cambay (in India) and from Malindi. . . . This Mombasa is a land very full of food. Here are found many very fine sheep with round tails, cows and other cattle in great plenty, and many fowls, all of which are exceeding fat. There is much millet and rice, sweet and bitter oranges, lemons, pomegranates, Indian figs, vegetables of various kinds, and much sweet water. The men thereof are often at war and but seldom at peace with those of the mainland and they carry on trade with them, bringing thence great store of honey, wax and ivory."

From the list of commodities enumerated above it is easy to understand why the Portuguese regarded these coastal towns as very valuable calling places on their journey from Portugal to the East.

(4) *Portuguese Rule on the Coast. Sixteenth Century.*—Let us now look at a few of the events which took place on the East Coast after the Portuguese had made themselves masters of this

region. The town of Mombasa never settled down peaceably to Portuguese rule and gave constant trouble during the sixteenth century. Malindi, on the other hand, had from the first been friendly to the Portuguese and remained so as long as the Portuguese held sway in East Africa. The author, Duarte Barbosa, described the friendly attitude of Malindi in the following terms: "The king and people of this place were ever and are friends of the king of Portugal, and the Portuguese always find in them great comfort and friendship." The island of Zanzibar also soon became friendly towards the Portuguese and after a few years was allowed to cease paying the annual tribute. The neighbouring island of Pemba, however, was constantly hostile and usually supported the people of Mombasa in their frequent rebellions against Portuguese rule.

In November, 1528, Nuno da Cunha touched at Zanzibar on his way to India where he was going to take over the office of Governor-General. While he was staying at Zanzibar he received complaints from the inhabitants that their warlike neighbours of Mombasa were constantly stirring up trouble and committing acts of hostility. Nuno da Cunha accordingly decided to teach the people of Mombasa a severe lesson. With the assistance of native soldiers lent to him by the rulers of Zanzibar and Malindi, he attacked Mombasa and forced it to

surrender. He then imposed upon the place a large annual tribute of gold. After a time the ruler of Mombasa became aware that the Portuguese had become weakened by disease. He therefore thought that he could delay in carrying out the orders he had been given. Nuno da Cunha accordingly burnt the town to the ground and destroyed many of the coconut plantations before setting sail for India. So severe was this punishment that, for a considerable time, Mombasa gave no trouble to the Portuguese.

During the next fifty years, in fact, the Portuguese ruled the whole of the coast from Barawa to Cape Corrientes without any active opposition. Their rule was extremely tyrannical and cruel so that they were bitterly hated by the natives. The hatred with which they were regarded is shown by the fact that the chief of the Portuguese was called "Afriti" or "devil."

It is not surprising to find, therefore, that towards the end of the sixteenth century a general rebellion against Portuguese rule broke out all along the Coast. In 1586 a Turkish pirate called Ali Bey visited East Africa and claimed that he had been sent by the Sultan of Turkey to deliver the Muhammadans of the East Coast from the tyranny of their Portuguese conquerors. He was well received by the native rulers of Kismayu, Faza, Lamu and Mombasa. After driving out the Portuguese from

most of their settlements, he sailed away to the Red Sea carrying with him a large amount of booty and fifty Portuguese prisoners.

The ruler of Malindi had remained, as usual, faithful to the Portuguese and immediately informed the Viceroy of India about the rebellion. In the following year a Portuguese fleet of eighteen ships set sail from Goa and on arriving off the Coast proceeded to punish severely all the towns which had taken part in the rebellion.

In 1589 Ali Bey returned to East Africa and was welcomed at Mombasa where he commenced to prepare an expedition against the town of Malindi. The Viceroy of India having heard of the return of Ali Bey, immediately sent a fleet of twenty ships to Mombasa to prevent another rebellion from developing.

Meanwhile a peculiar situation had arisen at Mombasa owing to the arrival of a horde of savages called the Wazimba. The latter were a tribe of cannibals who came from the interior of Africa, south of the river Zambesi. For some years they had been travelling northwards along the coast ravaging the country as they progressed. In 1587 they had captured Kilwa, and after destroying the town, had eaten most of their prisoners. Continuing along the coast they had reached Mombasa just before the arrival of the Portuguese fleet sent to put down the rebellion being organised by Ali

Bey. Thus the people of Mombasa found themselves caught between two fires. On the mainland side of the town were encamped the fierce cannibal Wazimba; while on the sea side were anchored the vessels of the Portuguese fleet. The Wazimba found it difficult to gain an entrance into the town owing to its fortifications. At last they persuaded the inhabitants to allow them to enter by promising to help them against the Portuguese. No sooner had the cannibals been admitted into the town than they turned upon the inhabitants and massacred them. Those who were able to escape flung themselves into the sea, only to be slain by the waiting Portuguese. Ali Bey himself was made a prisoner and taken to Portugal.

The Wazimba then proceeded northwards again and attacked Malindi. Here they were defeated, with great loss, by the Portuguese, and their power was completely broken. The Portuguese were assisted on this occasion by the Wasegeju, a wild tribe that had come from the interior in 1571.

The islands of Zanzibar and Pemba had not been troubled by the Wazimba nor had Zanzibar joined in the rebellion against the Portuguese. Pemba, on the other hand, had actively supported the rebellious people of Mombasa. In 1587, the people of Pemba had massacred in one night all the Portuguese living in the island—men, women, and children. Their own chief, who had favoured the Portuguese,

very nearly suffered the same fate, but he managed to escape in time to Malindi.

Meanwhile, in spite of the terrible events of 1589, the people of Mombasa continued to give trouble to the Portuguese. Accordingly, in 1592, the latter again attacked and sacked the town and made the King of Malindi Sultan of Mombasa. It will be remembered that the people of Malindi had always been friendly towards the Portuguese. Recognising the importance of Mombasa and its strong position, the Portuguese now decided to make it the capital of their East African possessions. In 1593 they also commenced to build there a strong fort which was named "Jesus Fort."

(5) *The First English Visits.*—It was about this time that the first English trading vessels visited the Indian Ocean. Although the Portuguese had been the first Europeans to open up a great sea trade with the East, they were not allowed to remain long in undisputed possession of this profitable commerce. As the sixteenth century progressed, the Dutch, French, and English began to appear in the East as serious rivals of the Portuguese.

In 1600 a number of wealthy London merchants had formed the East India Company for the purpose of setting up trade with the East. A few years earlier, in 1591, these merchants had sent an expedition to the East Indies to discover the possibilities of developing a lucrative trade in those regions.

This expedition of 1591 was composed of three ships. One of these vessels called the "Edward Bonaventure," under the command of Sir James Lancaster, had reached the island of Zanzibar on 7th November, 1591, and remained there until 15th February, 1592, when it continued its journey to the East Indies. The English visitors were impressed by the fertility of this island as is shown by the following description written by a member of the expedition: "This place for the goodness of the harbour and watering, and plentiful refreshing with fish, whereof we took great store with our nets, and for sundry sorts of fruits of the country, such as coconuts and others which were brought to us by the Moors, as also for oxen and hens, is carefully to be sought for by such of our ships as shall hereafter pass that way."

The Portuguese were naturally displeased with the arrival of other Europeans on the Coast and in the waters of the Indian Ocean, as they desired to keep all the eastern trade in their own hands. They therefore tried to make the natives of Zanzibar hostile towards the English by saying that the latter were a cruel people who were in the habit of eating their captives. These lies did not serve their purpose, however, for during their stay at Zanzibar these first English visitors were apparently on quite friendly terms with the natives of the island.

At the beginning of the seventeenth century several more English vessels called at places along the Coast while on their way to India. Thus in 1608 an English ship named the *Ascension* put in at Pemba in order to obtain water. The people of Pemba were at first friendly but later the Portuguese induced them to attack a party of sailors engaged in filling water casks.

The following year another English ship called the *Union* stopped at Zanzibar. These Englishmen were likewise treated in a treacherous manner by the Portuguese. The following is an account of their experiences written by a member of the party; "Put into Zanzibar where the Portuguese made show of favour and trade enticing them (*i.e.* part of the crew) to land with their boat, where they betrayed and took three of their men; the rest seeing their danger fled with the boat unto the ship and proceeded on their journey."

It is evident from the behaviour of the Portuguese in the above incidents that they were becoming seriously alarmed at the number of English ships which were finding their way to India. By the opening of the seventeenth century, in fact, the dominion of the Portuguese in the East had already begun to weaken.

CHAPTER VII

THE DECLINE OF THE PORTUGUESE

(1) *The Beginning of Portuguese Decline.*—During the opening years of the seventeenth century the power of the Portuguese in the East began to decline. Even towards the end of the sixteenth century other European nations had begun to appear in the Indian Ocean and had thus commenced to challenge the monopoly held by the Portuguese. European rivalry was not the only cause of their decline. Tropical diseases and constant fighting had carried off large numbers of the early Portuguese settlers, so that it became very difficult to find sufficient men to guard their extensive and scattered possessions.

Another cause which hastened their downfall was the intense hatred with which they were regarded by the peoples whom they had conquered. During their first century of power in the East they had committed countless acts of cruelty, treachery, and avarice. They had done little to win the affection or respect of their subjects, but had been constantly merciless and arrogant. It is not surprising, therefore, that their subjects eagerly

snatched at any opportunity of rebellion against the tyrannous government under which they suffered.

The first great blow to Portuguese power came in 1622 when they were driven out of Ormuz by the Persians. This tiny island which they had conquered in 1511 was of immense importance as it was the key to the Persian Gulf. The news of their expulsion from Ormuz quickly spread over the East and encouraged other places to rebel against them.

Thus in the year 1631 there was a serious insurrection of all the coastal states of East Africa. This revolt started at Mombasa. The Sultan of Mombasa at that time was a man called Yusuf. He had been educated when a lad at Goa by the Portuguese and had been converted to Christianity. When he became Sultan, the Portuguese, therefore, expected that he would be able to keep the town of Mombasa more loyal than it had been in the past. The Portuguese governor of Mombasa was no doubt cruel and oppressive, for the Sultan Yusuf, in spite of his education in Goa, soon began to plot against him. In 1631 they had a serious quarrel and Yusuf revolted against his masters. Secretly assembling 300 native soldiers, he entered the fort, surprised the garrison, and stabbed the governor to death. He then marched into the Portuguese quarter of the town, burnt it to the ground and

massacred all the Portuguese inhabitants. A few who escaped the massacre took refuge in a neighbouring monastery where they managed to defend themselves for seven days. They then agreed to submit to Yusuf on the understanding that their lives would be spared. No sooner had they started to leave the monastery, however, than all of them were massacred by Yusuf's soldiers. Altogether more than a hundred Portuguese lost their lives on this occasion.

When news of this incident became known, there was a general rising against the Portuguese all along the coast. Pemba took a leading part in this revolt. Meanwhile the terrible news had reached the Portuguese Viceroy of India. He immediately sent a fleet to punish the rebels. It anchored off Mombasa in January, 1632, and proceeded to besiege the town. After carrying on the siege for three months without any definite results, the Portuguese commander determined to return to India to obtain a larger force. He left two vessels to guard the approach to the harbour. Soon after his departure these vessels were captured by Yusuf. The latter, knowing that the Portuguese would return in greater strength, determined to escape while it was safe. Accordingly he dismantled the fort, utterly destroyed the town, and sailed away to Arabia. For the next few years he caused the Portuguese a good deal of annoyance by attacking

and looting their settlements in Madagascar, the Comoro Islands, and on the mainland. He was ultimately killed in November, 1638, while fighting against some Arabs. Yusuf was the last of the Sultans of Mombasa.

Meanwhile the Portuguese had returned to Mombasa and had punished the rebels along the Coast with very great severity. There is an interesting Portuguese inscription over the gateway of Mombasa fort which describes how the insurrection was quelled. The inscription reads as follows: "In 1635 Captain Major Francisco de Seixas and Cabreira was commander of this fortress for four years, he being twenty-seven years of age: he rebuilt it, and constructed this Guard House. He again subdued to His Majesty (*i.e.* The King of Spain and Portugal) the coast of Malindi, which had rebelled in favour of the tyrant (*i.e.* Yusuf, the last Sultan of Mombasa); and he made the kings of Otondo, Mandra, Luziva, and Jaca tributary: he personally inflicted on Pata and Siu a punishment hitherto unknown in India, even to the razing of their walls: he punished the Muzungulos (a neighbouring tribe of savages), chastised Pemba and its rebellious people, putting to death on his own responsibility the rebel kings and all the principal chiefs."

In 1635 it therefore seemed as if the Portuguese had firmly re-established their authority on the

East Coast. Their triumph was short-lived, however, for a new enemy—the Arabs of Oman—now appeared on the scene, and brought about the final overthrow of Portuguese domination in these regions. The people of Oman have played such an important part in the affairs of East Africa, that we must consider a few facts about the early history of Oman before proceeding with our story.

(2) *The Early History of Oman.*—The state of Oman is situated at the extreme south-eastern corner of Arabia and its chief port is Muscat. From very early times its people have been noted for their fierce love of independence. Thus although Oman was converted to Islam in 630, it frequently rebelled against the authority of the early Caliphs. In Chapter II we have noted one of these rebellions, namely that of Suleiman and Said against the Caliph Abdul Malik bin Marwan.

As a result of that unsuccessful rebellion, the Caliph determined to strengthen his hold over Oman by appointing a foreign governor and subordinate officials. For some years the people of Oman were thus governed by officials appointed by the Caliph. In course of time, however, these officials were chosen from the natives of the country and in 751 the people of Oman elected their own ruler, a man called Julanda bin Masud. He was given the title of Imam.

In order to understand why the ruler of the

country was given this title instead of the more usual title of "Wali," or governor, it is necessary to know something about the religious beliefs of the inhabitants. About the middle of the eighth century, most of the people of Oman joined a peculiar Muhammadan sect called the "Ibadhis." The founder of this sect was an Arab called Abdulla bin Yahya bin Abaz, who started to preach about the year 744. He taught his followers that the divinely appointed dynasty of the Caliphate came to an end when Hussein, the son of Ali, was murdered, and that since that date any suitable person might be elected Caliph by the people. He also maintained that the Caliph might be deposed by the people if they considered him to be unfit for the position. Acting on this belief, the people of Oman, since 751, have elected their own Imam or ruler, who is not only ruler of the country, but also the religious head of the community.

It is not necessary for us to follow the history of the successive Imams of Oman. Let us now turn our attention to the period when the Portuguese appeared in the Indian Ocean and conquered parts of Oman. In 1508 the great Portuguese soldier, Alfonso de Albuquerque, seized the towns of Sohar, Muscat and Karyat, and for more than a century the country was subject to the Portuguese. The internal administration of Oman was left in the hands of the local rulers and the Portuguese did not

interfere with their affairs provided that tribute was paid regularly to the King of Portugal. But to the independent spirit of the people of Oman the domination of the Portuguese was a very bitter experience and they eagerly awaited any opportunity of regaining their independence. After the defeat of the Portuguese at Ormuz in 1622, an active movement against the hated foreigners was started. This movement came to a successful issue during the rule of the Imam called Sultan bin Seif. In 1651 he captured Muscat from the Portuguese and soon afterwards entirely expelled them from Oman.

In the next chapter we shall see how Sultan bin Seif then proceeded to help the natives of East Africa in their efforts to drive out the Portuguese.

CHAPTER VIII

THE COMING OF THE OMANI ARABS

(1) *The Omani Conquest of the East Coast.*—We have already noted in several previous chapters that, owing to the monsoon winds, the East Coast had always been in fairly close touch with Southern Arabia. When, in 1651, Sultan bin Seif captured Muscat from the Portuguese, the news of his success quickly spread, therefore, across the Indian Ocean to Mombasa and other places along the Coast. The people of Mombasa at once decided to request Sultan bin Seif to send them assistance so that they might also drive away the Portuguese from their country. It was quite natural that they should turn for help to the Imam of Oman, for not only was he a fellow Muhammadan, but his country also had suffered under the oppressive rule of the Portuguese.

Sultan bin Seif readily agreed to this request, and in 1652 sent from Muscat a small fleet which attacked and burned the Portuguese settlements in Zanzibar and Pate. As a result of this success, there was a general revolt of all the coastal towns against the rule of the Portuguese. For a time,

however, the Portuguese were able to crush these revolts.

The coastal peoples, therefore, again sent to Muscat and begged the Imam to send another fleet to aid them. By this time Sultan bin Seif had created a small navy. In 1660 he crossed the Indian Ocean and after a lengthy siege succeeded in capturing Mombasa from the Portuguese. Unfortunately for the inhabitants of Mombasa, Sultan bin Seif was unable to remain for long in possession of the town as he had to return to Oman where troubles had broken out during his absence in East Africa. As soon as the Imam had departed, the Portuguese again captured Mombasa and punished the unfortunate inhabitants with the utmost severity for their rebellion. This conduct simply made the Portuguese more bitterly hated than before, and made their subjects more determined than ever to seek every opportunity to organise a fresh revolt.

Meanwhile, the Imam Sultan bin Seif had died in Oman and had been succeeded after a time by his son, Seif bin Sultan, who inherited the warlike spirit of his father. He had not been reigning very long when he received urgent entreaties from the people of the East Coast to help them against the Portuguese as his father had done. Seif bin Sultan had enlarged the Omani navy which now consisted of twenty-eight vessels. It is said that his largest

ship carried quite a number of guns, some of which measured as much as "three spans at the breach." Some of these guns had been captured from the Portuguese. The Imam readily agreed to help the coastal people, and in March 1696 he laid siege to Mombasa. The siege lasted for thirty-three months and it was not until December, 1698, that Seif succeeded in capturing Fort Jesus and thus made himself master of the island. In the following year he succeeded in expelling the Portuguese from Pemba and Kilwa and he also attempted to capture from them Mozambique, which was the strongest Portuguese fort on the whole of the East Coast. He was not successful there, however, and Mozambique has remained in Portuguese hands down to the present day.

Thus, by the year 1700, the whole of the Coast as far south as Kilwa had passed into the hands of the ruler of Oman, and it was never again under the domination of the Portuguese, although the latter made several attempts to regain the power which they had lost. Seif bin Sultan was soon obliged to return to Oman and hence he left the government of the important coastal towns in the hands of various Omani Arabs. Thus he appointed Nasir bin Abdulla, the head of the powerful Mazrui family, as the governor of Mombasa, while Zanzibar was placed under the rule of one of the El Harthi family, and it is said that a member of the Nebhani

tribe was made Liwali of Pate. Pemba was placed under the control of the Mazrui governor of Mombasa.

On his return to Oman, Seif bin Sultan worked hard to improve the condition of his native land. He repaired many of the water channels on which the fertility of Oman largely depended, and he caused tens of thousands of date and coconut palms to be planted.

(2) *Relics of the Portuguese Occupation of the Coast.* —It is a remarkable fact that although the Portuguese were masters of the Coast for a period of 200 years, they seem to have had very little permanent effect on the country or its people. This was probably mainly due to the fact that they never made any serious attempt to colonise their East African possessions, but regarded them chiefly as convenient calling places on the long voyage between Portugal and their valuable dominions in the East.

Although Portuguese influence was thus very slight, it is of interest to consider a few of the relics of their rule in these regions. In the first place there are several words in the Swahili language which owe their origin to the Portuguese. Thus "Kasha" meaning "a large box" is derived from the Portuguese word "Caxa"; then again, the word "Mvinyo" meaning "wine" comes from the Portuguese "vinho"; while lastly the common word "Meza" meaning "a table" is also of Portuguese origin.

A BULL-FIGHT, PEMBA.

A few most useful fruits and vegetables such as the pine-apple and cassava were also introduced into these parts during the time of the Portuguese occupation.

Perhaps the most curious survival of Portuguese rule is the custom of holding bull-fights in the island of Pemba. This amusement has always been very popular in Portugal and no doubt the Portuguese, when they lived in these regions, held an occasional bull-fight to relieve the monotony of their exile from their own native land. There is little doubt that the bull-fights still held in Pemba were copied from the Portuguese, for many of the incidents of the performance closely resemble the bull-fights held in Portugal at the present day. Whereas in the latter country, however, this sport is a serious business involving considerable danger to the performers and cruelty to the bull, in Pemba it is of quite a harmless nature, the natives treating it as a kind of romp. Thus, in Pemba, the bull is never killed at the end of the performance nor are any of the players often seriously injured.

(3) *The Rise of the Albusaid Dynasty in Oman.*—Seif bin Sultan died in 1711 and for some years after his death Oman was troubled by civil wars and tribal quarrels. The Portuguese, hearing of this state of affairs, thought that there might be an opportunity of recapturing their possessions on the

East Coast. An expedition was therefore organised and in 1727 they actually succeeded in recapturing Mombasa. The triumph of the Portuguese was short-lived, however, for two years later the Omani Arabs once again expelled them from Mombasa and from other places along the Coast where they had been temporarily successful.

Meanwhile the state of confusion and disorder in Oman had become even more acute. In 1728 the grandson of Seif bin Sultan had succeeded to the Imamate. He was a weak young man who, instead of exerting his own authority, was foolish enough to ask the Shah of Persia to help him in quelling the disturbances in Oman. The latter monarch was only too glad to find an excuse for interfering in the affairs of Oman. Instead of helping the Imam he invaded Oman, captured the country for himself, and treated the unfortunate inhabitants in the most inhuman fashion.

Ultimately the people of Oman decided that the only way to save their country from the unhappy condition into which it had fallen was to get rid of the Imam who had proved so weak and incompetent, and to elect a new Imam from an entirely different family. So it came about that in 1741 a man called Ahmed bin Said, a member of the Albusaid family, was elected Imam of Oman. He was strong, warlike and courageous. In a short time he drove the hated Persians out of his country and

then set to work to restore Oman to its former condition of prosperity.

We have spent some time in discussing the affairs of Oman at this period because they had a close connection with the East Coast of Africa. We have just seen how the Albusaid Dynasty came to occupy the throne of Oman. This dynasty, as we shall soon see, was destined to play a very important part in the development of East Africa. All the future rulers of the Omani possessions on the East Coast belonged to the Albusaid Dynasty, while the present Sultan of Zanzibar, Seyyid Sir Khalifa bin Harub, is a descendant of Ahmed bin Said, the founder of the dynasty.

It was during the reign of Ahmed bin Said that the rulers of Oman began to use the title of "Seyyid" (prince) as well as that of Imam. Thus this first ruler of the Albusaid Dynasty was always known as the Seyyid Ahmed bin Said. Henceforth all the princes of the Albusaid family placed the title "Seyyid" in front of their names, while the princesses were called "Seyyida." Even down to the present day the Sultan of Zanzibar is called the "Seyyid" by his Arab and African subjects.

Let us now see what had been happening on the East Coast during this period. It will be remembered that the Imam Seif bin Sultan had entrusted the administration of the important coastal towns to various Arab governors. Most of these men,

learning about the disordered state of Oman and knowing that the Imam was too troubled to be able to interfere in the affairs of East Africa, had refused to acknowledge the authority of their Omani ruler and had even made themselves independent Sultans of the towns over which they had been given authority. Thus in Mombasa, the powerful Mazrui chief had for a long time ruled independently and had, in fact, made himself master of the whole coast from Malindi in the north to Pangani in the south, as well as over the island of Pemba. The King of Pate, a member of the Nabahan family, had similarly thrown off all allegiance to the Imam of Oman.

During a large part of the eighteenth century these two families, the Mazrui of Mombasa and the Nabahan of Pate, were continually at war with each other. Each of them wished to obtain the supremacy of the East African Coast. So the wretched coastal natives continually suffered from the disputes and rivalries of their different Arab governors, and it is doubtful whether they were in any happier condition than they had formerly been under the Portuguese.

Throughout this disturbed period the island of Zanzibar, unlike the neighbouring island of Pemba, remained loyal to the ruler of Oman. In order to protect the people of Zanzibar from the warlike designs of the Mazrui, the Seyyid Ahmed bin Said

sent a garrison to the island in 1746, but he was never able to pay a personal visit to his East African possessions.

After a reign of thirty-four years, Ahmed bin Said died in 1775 and was succeeded by his second son Said, who proved to be an indolent and oppressive ruler. There followed another period of disorder and civil war in Oman so that the Arab governors of the Coast still acted in quite an independent manner and took no notice of their Omani sovereign. Then in 1804, Said bin Sultan, the grandson of Ahmed bin Said, became the ruler of Oman. He is usually known as "Seyyid" Said for the title of Imam was now omitted by the rulers of Oman. With the accession of Seyyid Said to the throne, the rulers of Oman once again began to take an active interest in the affairs of East Africa and, as we shall see in the next chapter, Seyyid Said actually came to live on the East Coast and firmly established Omani rule in these regions.

CHAPTER IX

SEYYID SAID AND HIS SUCCESSORS

A. Seyyid Said. 1804-1856.

(1) *The Suppression of the Mazrui.* 1828-1837.—During the first twenty years of his reign, Seyyid Said was too fully occupied with troubles in Oman to be able to give much attention to his African possessions. He was quite aware of the insubordination of many of the Arab governors appointed in East Africa and especially of the disloyal conduct of the Mazrui rulers of Mombasa. As soon as Oman had been brought into a condition of order and prosperity, he determined to put a stop to this unsatisfactory state of affairs. Accordingly, early in 1828, he set sail from Muscat at the head of quite a large fleet, and arrived opposite Mombasa in January. After a considerable amount of fighting, the rebellious Mazrui were defeated and a treaty was arranged whereby they agreed to acknowledge the supremacy of Seyyid Said.

Leaving a garrison of 300 Baluchi soldiers in Mombasa fort, Seyyid Said then sailed for Zanzibar where he stayed for three months. This island had been loyal to the rulers of Oman for a very long

period and Seyyid Said was given an enthusiastic welcome by the inhabitants. He was very favourably impressed by the wonderful fertility of the island and by its excellent position off the East Coast. There is no doubt that during this short visit Seyyid Said began to consider the possibility of making Zanzibar the future capital of his East African dominions.

After a stay of three months he was obliged to return to Oman where trouble had broken out during his absence. No sooner had he left the Coast than the Mazrui Arabs of Mombasa attacked the fort and starved the garrison of 300 Baluchis into submission. During the course of the next three years Seyyid Said was obliged to make no less than three expeditions from Muscat against his rebellious subjects of Mombasa. It was not until 1837 that he finally suppressed the rebels of that city. By means of a stratagem he seized the Mazrui ruler named Rashid bin Salim, together with twenty-six of his followers, and imprisoned them for the rest of their lives in the dungeons of Bunder Abbas at the entrance to the Persian Gulf. The power of the turbulent Mazrui tribe was thus finally broken and Mombasa never again gave Seyyid Said any serious trouble.

The determination with which Seyyid Said had led expedition after expedition against Mombasa until he had established his authority there shows

clearly one side of his character. All who knew him testified to his bravery and his warlike qualities. Also, unlike most Arabs, he was a man of swift action. As well as a brave and determined warrior, he was also an able statesman and a just, broad-minded administrator. These qualities were clearly shown when he began to take an active interest in the government and administration of his East African possessions.

(2) *Seyyid Said makes Zanzibar the Capital of his East African Dominions.* 1832.—When Seyyid Said visited the East Coast in 1832, he decided to make Zanzibar his capital and to settle there himself. He came to this important decision in spite of the fact that up to this time both Mombasa and Kilwa had been of much greater importance than Zanzibar. No doubt the chief reason for his choice was the excellent position of the island. Lying only a few miles off the centre of the East Coast, Zanzibar was obviously capable of developing into the chief centre of trade and commerce of the whole of East Africa. Seyyid Said was most anxious to develop the trade of these regions and he realized that there were excellent opportunities for commerce on the mainland. He wanted to open up a series of trading posts on the mainland, starting opposite Zanzibar and extending into the interior as far as the Congo. Owing to its central position he realized that Zanzibar was bound to

become the collecting and distributing place for most of the goods brought down to the Coast.

There were several other reasons which influenced Seyyid Said in selecting Zanzibar as his capital. The town possesses deep harbours in which the largest vessels can find a safe anchorage. Then again, the island has an inexhaustible supply of pure drinking water, the best obtainable between Alexandria and Durban. He knew that this would attract many passing ships and thus help to stimulate trade. Lastly, the island of Zanzibar is exceedingly fertile and no doubt this greatly influenced Seyyid Said, who was keenly interested in agriculture.

The wisdom of Seyyid Said's choice was clearly proved before the end of his reign. The town of Zanzibar, from being a small collection of native houses, quickly grew and became the largest and most important city on the East Coast. Many Arabs followed Seyyid Said to Zanzibar and they soon began to penetrate into the interior of Africa as traders and explorers. A time of great prosperity commenced and trade flourished on the Coast in a manner which had hitherto been unknown. As the Arab traders pushed far into the interior, the fame and influence of the ruler of Zanzibar spread over a large part of the mainland. This gave rise to the saying that:

"When one pipes in Zanzibar,
They dance on the Lakes."

Some of the Arabs who pushed into the interior and formed trading stations settled down and became local Sultans, though they continued to recognise the overlordship of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

It was during the reign of Seyyid Said that the East Coast of Africa again began to attract the serious attention of Europeans. Anxious to increase the trade and prosperity of his dominions, Seyyid Said did everything he could to encourage European merchants to reside in Zanzibar for the purpose of carrying on their commerce. In 1833 he entered into a commercial treaty with the United States of America, and in 1837 an American Consulate was opened in the town. The American merchants bought the ivory, copal, and hides which came from the interior, and exchanged these commodities for American cotton goods and hardware. In 1841 Great Britain also established a Consulate in Zanzibar, the first consul being Colonel Hammerton of the Indian Army. A French consul arrived in 1844 and ultimately consuls were also appointed for Portugal, Italy, Belgium, Germany and Austria-Hungary.

Seyyid Said was also intensely interested in agriculture. He will always best be remembered in Zanzibar for the part he played in establishing the clove industry on which the prosperity of the island mainly depends. Although the clove tree had actually been introduced into the island at the

opening of the nineteenth century, it was entirely due to the influence and example of Seyyid Said that the cultivation of this valuable spice was undertaken in a regular manner and on a large scale. Many people at the time thought that in thus promoting the clove industry he was making

A CLOVE PLANTATION, ZANZIBAR.

a serious mistake and that his policy would lead to the ruin of Zanzibar and Pemba. Being a man of determined character, Seyyid Said took no notice of these gloomy views and steadily continued the extensive planting of the clove tree both in Zanzibar and Pemba. It is said that he actually compelled his Arab subjects to plant three clove trees for every

coconut palm, and that he punished those who refused to carry out his wishes by confiscating their estates. At the time of his death, cloves had become the third most important article of export, while at the present time Zanzibar and Pemba produce nine-tenths of the world's supply of cloves. Time therefore proved that Seyyid Said was entirely justified in his encouragement of the clove industry.

Although Seyyid Said had in 1832 made Zanzibar his home, he was obliged to make fairly frequent visits to Oman in order to maintain his authority there. He kept up communication with Oman by means of a squadron of ships, the biggest being the *Liverpool*, which carried seventy-four guns. On returning from one of these visits in 1856, Seyyid Said was taken seriously ill and died at sea in October, off the Seychelles Islands. His body was brought to Zanzibar and buried there.

We obtain a good deal of interesting information about Seyyid Said and his life in Zanzibar from a book called *Memoirs of an Arabian Princess*, which was written by Seyyida Salme, one of his youngest daughters. She refers to her father in the following terms of love and respect:

"Being one of his younger children I only remember my father with his venerable, snow-white beard. He was above middle height, his features had a very fascinating and engaging expression, and his whole appearance commanded respect. In spite of his

warlike propensities and his delight in conquest, he was a model father and sovereign. Justice he valued as the highest of all things, and in this respect he knew no difference of person, not even between one of his own sons and the lowest slave. He humbled himself before God; nor was he conceited and proud like so many high-born people."

The following is her description of her father's town palace, the Beit-il-Sahel:

"It is a bright and cheerful-looking place, and a very pleasant house to live in. There is a splendid view of the sea and the shipping from all its windows, which delighted me much. The doors on the upper floor, which contains many rooms, open upon a long and wide gallery of such grandness as I have never seen equalled. The ceiling is supported by pillars reaching down to the ground, and these pillars are connected by a high parapet, along which chairs are placed.

"The gallery looks down upon a courtyard, always full of bustle and noise. Two large separate flights of stairs lead from this court to the rooms on the first floor. Crowds of people are continually going up and down these stairs, and the crowding is often so great that it takes some minutes before one can get to the staircase at all. . . .

"The kitchen is put up in the open, near one of the ground-floor pillars; the numberless cooks quarrel and fight continually, until one of the head

cooks steps in, dealing blows right and left, and restoring order for a time. The quantities of meat boiled here are enormous, the beasts being always cooked whole. Fish of so large a size was often brought, as had to be carried by two negroes; smaller ones were only brought by the basketful, and poultry by the dozen. Flour, rice, and sugar were counted by bags, and butter, imported in a liquid state from the Isle of Socotra, by jars of about a hundredweight each. Spices alone were taken by the pound.

"The quantities of fruit consumed were still more enormous. Thirty to forty porters, and sometimes as many as fifty, came in daily laden with fruit, not to count the small boats arriving from the seashore plantations."

She also gives the following description of the daily audience or "baraza" held by Seyyid Said:

"Twice a day, by an old-established custom, all the male relations, the ministers and officials—in fact, all those who wish to see or speak to him—are allowed free access to the sovereign in the morning after breakfast and later in the day, after fourth prayer. The audience chamber (baraza) was on the ground-floor, in a wing of the palace, built close to the sea-shore, and at high tide the water came right up to its walls; there was a magnificent view far out into the sea from its windows. . . . At the morning audiences coffee

was rarely served, but this was always done at those of the evening, after which business began. Everybody had a right to come forward and prefer a request, or to bring in a complaint, and to ask for a decision in his case. Nearly all the proceedings were verbal ones—either to settle affairs or give judgements in writing is much disliked."

B. The Reign of Seyyid Majid. 1856-1870.

It had been Seyyid Said's wish that on his death Muscat should be governed by his eldest surviving son, Thuwaini, while his East African possessions should go to his second surviving son, Majid. It so happened that Majid was present in Zanzibar at the time of his father's death. Owing to the fact that he was popular with most of the local Arabs, Majid succeeded peacefully to the rule of the East Coast. His brother Thuwaini, however, who was in Muscat, was entirely dissatisfied by this arrangement and promptly laid claim to the whole of his father's possessions. He accordingly prepared to sail for Zanzibar with the intention of enforcing what he considered to be his rights. He was stopped from doing this by the action of the British Government which appointed a commission to enquire into the claims of the two rival brothers.

During the sitting of this commission Thuwaini endeavoured to stir up trouble against Majid among some of the Arabs of Zanzibar. He was assisted

in this project by his brother Barghash, a younger son of Seyyid Said. In 1859 Barghash organised a plot against Seyyid Majid. The latter, though quite a capable ruler, was too fond of ease and comfort, so that the plot was not stopped in its early stages. At one time it looked as if Barghash would be successful. Owing to the intervention of the British consul at Zanzibar the conspiracy was ultimately put down, and Barghash was sent to Bombay where he lived until 1861.

In the same year the commission finished its work. It was decided that Thuwaini should retain Oman, and that Majid should be allowed to remain ruler of Zanzibar and the other East African possessions. From the year 1861 the thrones of East Africa and of Oman therefore became entirely separate, so that we shall no longer need to refer to the course of events in the latter country.

Seyyid Majid had an uneventful reign. In 1866 he paid a state visit to Bombay. He died in 1870 at the early age of 37 and was succeeded by his brother Barghash.

C. The Reign of Seyyid Barghash. 1870-1888.

Seyyid Barghash was a remarkable man and in many of his qualities he resembled his father, Seyyid Said. His daring and ambition were shown by the way in which he had plotted against Seyyid Majid. He was of a much more vigorous and energetic

SEYYID BARGHASH.

temperament than the latter. Owing to the fact that he had lived for some time in Bombay, he had acquired a knowledge of the outside world and of

modern ideas that none of his predecessors had possessed. On his accession to the throne, he immediately adopted a more expensive and ostentatious style of living than had been the custom under Seyyid Said and Seyyid Majid, both of whom had continued the simple style of living which had always been customary in Oman. Seyyid Barghash was fond of display and of luxurious living. It was during his reign also that the title of Sultan first came into general use, especially among the Europeans who resided in Zanzibar. Among the majority of his Arab and African subjects, however, the ruler was still usually referred to as the "Seyyid."

Seyyid Barghash was extravagant by nature and spent huge sums of money while he was Sultan. All kinds of European articles of luxury were imported from London and Paris, while no less than five new palaces were built, one in the town and the others in the country. The town palace was known as the Beit-el-Ajaib (or House of Wonders) and it is still the most prominent structure in Zanzibar town. At the present time it is used as the Government Offices.

It must not be imagined that Seyyid Barghash only spent money on his own pleasures and amusements. He also did much for the general benefit of Zanzibar. It was he who caused a covered pipe to be laid from the spring of Chem Chem into the

town so that there should always be a good supply of pure drinking water for the inhabitants of his capital. When a terrible cyclone visited Zanzibar Island in 1872 and destroyed all the clove trees, Seyyid Barghash showed his strength of character by the way in which he immediately set to work to restore the clove industry to its former state of prosperity.

It was during his reign that East Africa was brought into closer connection with the outside world by means of steamship and cable. In 1869 the Suez Canal had been opened. Shortly afterwards, in 1872, the British India Steam Navigation Company started a monthly mail service between Aden and Zanzibar. Then in 1879 the Eastern Telegraph Company completed the laying of a submarine cable from Aden to Zanzibar, thus bringing the Coast into even closer touch with the outside world.

In 1875 Seyyid Barghash made a state visit to England. He was entertained by Queen Victoria and by the Prince and Princess of Wales, and was shown many of the chief places of interest in the country. Before returning to East Africa he also visited Paris and Berlin.

Seyyid Barghash died in 1888 at the age of fifty-five and was succeeded by his brother Khalifa bin Said. In the above account of Seyyid Barghash we have only discussed domestic affairs. His

reign is chiefly memorable for the way in which it saw the beginning of active European interest in the interior of Africa, and also for the gradual suppression of the slave trade in East Africa. These events were of such vital importance that we must now consider them separately before we proceed with the main course of our story.

CHAPTER X

THE SLAVE TRADE AND ITS SUPPRESSION

The history of the slave trade is almost as old as the history of the East Coast itself. We have already seen in Chapter II, in our account of the *Periplus*, that even in those early times slaves were one of the principal exports from East Africa. In fact, most of the early visitors to the Coast were partly attracted here by the large profits which could be made by trading in slaves. In Chapter IV we have also seen that this traffic was carried on extensively during the period of the Zenj Empire. It will be remembered that the Arab geographer, Idris, described how visitors to East Africa stole the negro children by enticing them away from their homes by gifts of fruit.

When various European nations began to visit Africa, they also took an active part in this profitable trade. The European trade in slaves was carried on more extensively along the West Coast, however, than along the East Coast. One of the reasons which led the Portuguese to push ahead with their exploration of the West Coast during the fifteenth century was their desire to obtain

cheap slave labour. By the middle of the sixteenth century Englishmen had also commenced to take part in the West African slave trade, and for the next 200 years slaves were regarded as the most valuable article of commerce to be obtained from the continent of Africa. The negroes who were enslaved on the West Coast were carried across the Atlantic Ocean to work in the gold and silver mines of Central or South America, or on the sugar plantations of the West Indies.

It would be impossible to exaggerate the horrors of this terrible traffic in human lives. The journey from West Africa across the Atlantic Ocean was in itself a terrible ordeal for the unhappy slaves. They were herded together almost like animals in the dark, foul hold of a sailing ship, and fed on the vilest kind of food. As a result of the filthy condition of these slave ships, disease often broke out, and an appalling number of the wretched creatures died before they reached their destination. Those who did survive the horrors of the sea passage were often so overworked and cruelly treated that they lived for only a year or two.

The slave trade was, in fact, a disgrace to civilization, yet for more than two centuries the Christian nations of Europe did not seem to realize the wickedness of this horrible traffic. This was partly due to the fact that slavery did not exist in Europe itself. The slaves were carried across the sea to America

and the West Indies, so that most people who lived in Europe were ignorant of the cruelties which the trade involved. Towards the end of the eighteenth century this state of affairs began to change. People began to learn more about the slave trade and, when they realized the horrors connected with it, many of them determined to do their best to bring the disgraceful business to an end. For example, in 1787, a number of Englishmen formed a Society for the purpose of securing the abolition of the slave trade. In 1807 the British Parliament passed an Act abolishing the slave trade as far as British ships and colonies were concerned.

Although the actual trading in slaves had thus been made unlawful the condition of slavery still existed. It was still legal for British subjects to own slaves, although they were no longer allowed to trade in them. Ultimately in 1834 another Act of Parliament was passed whereby the condition of slavery was entirely abolished throughout the British Empire. All slaves belonging to British subjects were set free and the owners were given a certain sum of money as compensation by the British Government.

We have spent some time in considering the movement towards the abolition of the slave trade and slavery within the British Empire, because during the nineteenth century Great Britain took the lead

in securing the total abolition of these two evils throughout the whole world. It must be clearly understood that although by 1834 slavery had been abolished in the British Empire, both the slave trade and slavery still existed in many other parts of the world.

We must now consider the condition of the slave trade on the East Coast of Africa. When the Portuguese had conquered the East Coast at the beginning of the sixteenth century, they had carried on a certain amount of slave trading, though not on such an extensive scale as the West Coast trade. Later the French and Spaniards also came to the East Coast for the purpose of trading in slaves. At the opening of the nineteenth century the people who took the greatest part in this trade were the Arabs who had followed Seyyid Said to East Africa. It was the immense profits which could be obtained from trading in slaves and ivory that caused many of these Arabs to make such long and arduous journeys into the interior of Africa. The town of Zanzibar became the centre of this Arab slave trade for the whole of East Africa. Most of the slaves bought or captured by the Arabs on the mainland were conveyed to Zanzibar, where there was a large slave market. Some of the slaves were purchased by local Arabs for work on the clove plantations of the island, while thousands were also exported annually to Arabia, Persia, Egypt and

other Eastern countries where there was a demand for slave labour. It has been estimated that during the opening years of the nineteenth century about 15,000 slaves were imported yearly into Zanzibar, and that some 10,000 of these slaves were re-exported to other countries.

Let us now examine the condition of the slave trade in East Africa during the time of Seyyid Said. The caravans which journeyed into the interior in search of "black and white ivory" (*i.e.* slaves and ivory) were usually commanded by Arabs and were strongly armed. If the caravan was passing through country inhabited by weak, unwarlike natives, the work of the slave traders was soon accomplished. Stealing secretly up to a village, they surrounded it at dusk, suddenly rushed into it while the unsuspecting villagers were enjoying their evening meal, shot down any who attempted to resist or escape, and carried off into slavery the remainder. If the caravan entered the country of more warlike natives a rather different plan was adopted. The Arabs settled in the district for a short time and cunningly stirred up trouble between two rival tribes. This usually led to a war between the two tribes. The Arabs then purchased from the victors those who had been made prisoners. Even this method was not costly, as the Arabs usually found they could buy such prisoners for a few yards of cloth or some beads.

The unhappy negroes who had thus been captured were then tied together in long strings, the men being often fastened in forked sticks so that they should not escape. Then began the terrible march to the coast. If the caravan had penetrated a long way into the interior, the journey might be as long as five or six hundred miles. So terrible were the sufferings undergone by the slaves during this journey, that it is believed that very often only one-fifth of the slaves in a caravan actually reached the coast alive. Those who fell sick were left to die by the wayside, while any who attempted to mutiny or escape were immediately shot. Most of the slaves were also forced to carry on their heads heavy loads composed of the precious ivory which the Arabs were also transporting to the coast for sale. In a book called, *Fighting the Slave-Hunters* (by A. J. Swann) there is the following vivid description of one of these caravans:

"Here we met the annual caravan which had been resting after the long march through Ugogo and the hot passes of Chunyo. As they filed past we noticed many chained together by the neck. Others had their necks fastened into the forks of poles about six feet long, the ends of which were supported by the men who preceded them. The women, who were as numerous as the men, carried babies on their backs in addition to a tusk of ivory or other burden on their heads.

"It is difficult adequately to describe the filthy state of their bodies; in many cases not only scarred with the cut of a chikote (a piece of hide used to enforce obedience), but feet and shoulders were a mass of open sores, made more painful by the swarms of flies which followed the march, and lived on the flowing blood.

"The head-men in charge were most polite to us as they passed our camp. Each was armed with a rifle, knife, and spear, and although decently clothed in clean cotton garments, they presented a thoroughly villainous appearance.

"Addressing one I pointed out that many of the slaves were unfit to carry loads. To this he smilingly replied:

'They have no choice! They must go or die!'

Then ensued the following conversation:

'Are all these slaves destined for Zanzibar?'

'Most of them! the remainder will stay at the coast.'

'Have you lost many on the road?'

'Yes! numbers have died of hunger!'

'Any run away?'

'No! they are too well guarded.'

'What do you do when they become too ill to travel?'

'Spear them at once! for, if we did not, others would pretend that they were ill in order to avoid carrying their loads. No! we never

leave them alive on the road; they know our custom.'

'I see women carrying not only a child on their backs, but, in addition, a tusk of ivory or other burden on their heads. What do you do in their case when they become too weak to carry both child and ivory? Who carries the ivory?'

'She does! We cannot leave valuable ivory on the road. We spear the child and make her burden lighter. Ivory first, child afterwards!' "

The above quotation very vividly illustrates the terrible cruelty involved in the marching of the slaves down to the coast, and the inhuman attitude displayed towards them by the slave traders. The last sentence, "Ivory first, child afterwards," sums up the whole terrible business. It must not be imagined that the sufferings of the slaves were at an end by the time they reached the coast. They were then packed in dhows and conveyed like cattle to Zanzibar for sale in the slave market. As many as two or three hundred slaves were crammed into quite a small dhow. Day and night their naked bodies were exposed to the sun and rain; very little food and drink was given them: while owing to the terrible state of overcrowding, disease frequently broke out during the voyage and often many were thrown overboard before Zanzibar was reached. The following is the description of a slave dhow in a book called *Zanzibar in Contem-*

porary Times (by R. N. Lyne). This particular dhow was captured by a British cruiser in the Persian Gulf:

"The number of slaves it was impossible at the time to estimate; so crowded on deck and in the hold below was the dhow, that it seemed, but for the aspect of misery, a very nest of ants. The hold, from which an intolerable stench proceeded, was several inches deep in the foulest bilge-water and refuse. Down below there were numbers of children and wretched beings in the most loathsome stages of small-pox and scrofula of every description. A more disgusting and degrading spectacle of humanity could hardly be seen, whilst the foulness of the dhow was such that the sailors could hardly endure it. . . . On examination by the surgeon, it was found that there were no less than 35 cases of small-pox. . . . Perhaps the most atrocious piece of cruelty of the Arabs was heard afterwards from the slaves themselves, *viz.*, that at the first discovery of small-pox amongst them by the Arabs, all the infected slaves were at once thrown overboard, and this was continued day by day, until, they said, forty had perished in this manner. When they found the disease could not be checked, they simply left them to take their chance, and to die. Many of the children were of the tenderest years, scarcely more than three years old, and most of them bearing marks of the brutality of the Arabs

in half-healed scars, and bruises inflicted from the lash and stick."

The two quotations given in the preceding pages are sufficient to demonstrate the horrors of the slave trade in these regions. Let us now follow the story of the gradual suppression of this horrible traffic in human beings. The task of abolishing slavery and the slave trade in East Africa was mainly carried out by Great Britain. In the opening paragraphs of this chapter we have already seen that when the British people had secured the abolition of the slave trade and of slavery within the British Empire, they were not content until they had brought the whole disgraceful business to an end throughout the entire world.

Great Britain first took steps against the slave trade in East Africa during the reign of Seyyid Said. In the year 1822 the latter entered into a treaty with Great Britain whereby he promised to prohibit and prevent the sale of slaves to any Christian nation. He also agreed to allow British warships to seize all Arab vessels loaded with slaves found to the east of a line drawn from Cape Delgado, passing sixty miles east of Socotra Island, on to Diu Head, the western point of the Gulf of Cambay. In 1845 Seyyid Said was persuaded to enter into another treaty. He agreed to prohibit the exportation of slaves from his East African dominions, and the importation of slaves from any part of Africa into

his possessions in Asia. British warships might seize any vessels carrying on the slave trade under the flag of the Imam of Muscat except vessels which were transporting slaves from one port to another of Seyyid Said's African dominions, which were regarded as extending between Lamu in the north and Kilwa in the south. In order to understand properly these two treaties, the details must be read with care and a map should be consulted. It will be noticed that the second treaty of 1845, though prohibiting the slaves to be carried across the Indian Ocean, did not attempt to stop the trade along the Coast, for it was still permissible for slaves to be transported from one part of Seyyid Said's dominions on the East Coast to another.

Much credit should be given to Seyyid Said for the help he thus gave Great Britain in trying to stop the slave trade, especially when it is remembered that these treaties were most unpopular among his Arab subjects, many of whom depended upon the slave trade for their livelihood. Not only did Seyyid Said thus cause ill-feeling against himself, but he also lost a great deal of money by agreeing to these treaties. This was due to the fact that both import and export duties on slaves were charged in all his dominions, and these duties were one of the main sources of his revenue.

In spite of these treaties an immense amount of slave trading still went on. It was fairly easy to

make a treaty, but it was a much more difficult task to see that the conditions of the treaty were properly observed. For many years the British Government kept a squadron of cruisers employed off the East Coast for the purpose of chasing and capturing Arab dhows which carried on the trade. But although quite a large number of slave dhows were caught in this manner, a still larger number escaped capture.

Soon after the accession of Seyyid Barghash to the throne, the British Parliament appointed a special commission to enquire into the whole question of the slave trade in East Africa. As a result of this enquiry, the British Government sent one of its ministers, Sir Bartle Frere, on a special visit to Zanzibar in 1873. The object of Sir Bartle Frere's visit was to endeavour to persuade Seyyid Barghash to agree to a much more drastic and effective treaty than those which had been made during the time of his father, Seyyid Said.

Seyyid Barghash found himself in a most difficult position. As he himself complained to Sir Bartle Frere: "A spear is held at each of my eyes; with which shall I choose to be pierced?" By this figurative language he meant that on one side he had Great Britain insisting that he should do more to suppress the slave trade, while on the other side were his principal Arab subjects who strongly objected to the demands being made by Great Britain owing to the fact that the slave trade was

such a profitable business. Another fact which made it even more difficult for Seyyid Barghash to agree was the fact that during the previous year a terrible cyclone had destroyed the clove plantations of Zanzibar, and had brought about the ruin of many of the Arab owners.

After a stay of several weeks, during which time no definite agreement could be made, Sir Bartle Frere returned to England and left the negotiations in the hands of Dr. Kirk (afterwards Sir John Kirk) who was then the British Consul General in Zanzibar. For a considerable time Seyyid Barghash refused to sign the new treaty, and he even maintained that if he yielded to the demands of Great Britain, his life would be in danger owing to the intense anger which such an act would cause among his Arab subjects. Dr. Kirk even found it necessary to hint that unless Seyyid Barghash agreed to the treaty, Great Britain would be obliged to use force by means of a naval squadron. At last, mainly owing to the patience, tact, and determination of Dr. Kirk, the treaty was signed by Seyyid Barghash in June, 1873. The following were the chief provisions of the new treaty: (1) The total cessation from that date of the export of slaves from the coast of the mainland of East Africa, whether destined for transport from one part of the Sultan's dominions to another (this had not been prohibited in previous treaties), or for conveyance to foreign parts. (2)

The closing of all public slave markets in the Sultan's dominions. (3) The protection by the Sultan of all the liberated slaves. (4) The prohibition by the British Government of all Indians (who were British subjects) from possessing slaves and from acquiring any fresh slaves.

It will be noticed that by clause (2) of this treaty Seyyid Barghash promised to close all the slave markets in his dominions. Having signed the treaty Seyyid Barghash at once did his utmost to see that it was properly carried out. On the very day of its signature the slave market of Zanzibar town was cleared and closed by messengers specially sent for the purpose from the palace. Here is a description of the slave market as it existed in 1811 when a British officer called Captain Smee had visited Zanzibar:

"The show commences about four o'clock in the afternoon. The slaves are ranged in a line, commencing with the youngest and increasing to the rear according to their size and age. At the head of this file, which is composed of all sizes and ages from six to sixty, walks the person who owns them; behind and at each side two or three of his domestic slaves, armed with swords and spears, serve as a guard. Thus ordered, the procession begins and passes through the market place and principal streets, the owner holding forth in a kind of song the good qualities of his slaves and the high prices

that have been offered for them. When any one of them strikes a spectator's fancy, the line immediately stops, and a process of examination ensues, which, for minuteness, is unequalled in any cattle market in Europe. The intending purchaser having ascertained there is no defect in the faculties of speech, hearing, etc., that there is no disease present, and that the slave does not snore in sleeping, which is counted a very great fault, next proceeds to examine the person: the mouth and teeth are first inspected, and afterwards every part of the body in succession. . . . The slave is then made to run or walk a little way to show that there is no defect about the feet; after which, if the price be agreed to, they are stripped of their finery and delivered over to their future master. I have frequently counted between twenty and thirty of these files in the market. Women with children new born hanging at their breasts, and others so old they can scarcely walk, are sometimes seen dragged about in this manner. I observed they had in general a very dejected look; some groups appeared so ill-fed that their bones seemed as if ready to penetrate their skin."

Here is another description of the slave market taken from a book called *Slave Catching in the Indian Ocean* (by Captain Colomb). The writer is describing the market as he saw it in 1872, the year before it was finally closed by Seyyid Barghash:

"The market was well on when we arrived. There were perhaps twenty auctioneers, each attending a separate group and selling away as hard as possible. One of the officers counted over 300 slaves present, and it was clear several groups had only just been landed. One group appeared to be lately imported; they were all young boys and girls, some of them mere babies; and it was amongst them that the terribly painful part of the slave system was to be seen. I mean the terrible state, apparently of starvation, in which so many of these poor wretches are sometimes landed. The sight is simply horrible. Skeletons, with a diseased skin drawn tight over them, eyeballs left hideously prominent by the falling away of the surrounding flesh, chests sunk and bent, joints unnaturally swelled and horribly knotty by contrast with the wretched limbs between them; . . . these are the characteristics which mark too many of the negroes when imported."

Here is a third description of the slave market written by Mr. Clement Hill in 1873 only a few months before it was closed:

"About five o'clock the frequenters of the markets strolled quietly in. At once the salesman woke up, and all was bustle. And now came a cruel time. With a true knowledge of business, the sicklier and most wretched slaves were trotted out first, led round by the hand among the crowd, and their

price called out. The price of one boy was seven dollars, he was stripped and examined by a connoisseur, his arms felt, his teeth examined, his eyes looked at, and finally he was rejected."

Such scenes as those described in the above passages finally came to an end in Zanzibar, as we have seen, in June, 1873. By the terms of the Treaty, Seyyid Barghash had promised to close all the slave markets in his dominions. It was possible for him to enforce this in Zanzibar where he resided, but in other parts of his dominions, in spite of the treaty, slave markets were still held. Proclamations of the Sultan forbidding such practices were posted up in all the chief towns along the Coast, but the inhabitants took no notice of them and continued the profitable business of buying and selling slaves. The town of Kilwa was especially notorious for carrying on this unlawful traffic. Even after the signing of the treaty of 1873, it was estimated that more than 35,000 slaves were sold every year at Kilwa.

Accordingly in 1876 Sir John Kirk persuaded Seyyid Barghash to issue two more proclamations. One forbade the conveyance of slaves by land, and the other prohibited the approach of slave caravans to the Coast from the interior. In order to enforce these orders the British war-vessel *Thetis* was sent to Kilwa with instructions to remain there as long as necessary. Dr. Kirk also went on this expedition,

and Seyyid Barghash sent special orders to the Governor of Kilwa, Said bin Abdulla, to arrest and send to Zanzibar as prisoners all the chiefs of Kilwa because they had defied all his previous orders. This determined action on the part of Seyyid Barghash stopped the slave traffic at Kilwa for a time, but after the British war-vessel had departed the traffic soon revived. The Governor, Said bin Abdulla, was himself guilty, for not only was he a slave owner, but he had received large sums of money as bribes. He was promptly removed from his office by the Sultan and called to Zanzibar. Some time afterwards he was brought for trial before Seyyid Barghash and it was clearly proved that he had taken an active part in the slave traffic in spite of the repeated warnings of his ruler. He was arrested, put in slave irons, and sent to the common prison. This public punishment of an Arab who had held the post of governor provided a wholesome lesson for other governors and warned them of the treatment they might expect if they continued to disobey the proclamations issued by Seyyid Barghash.

Meanwhile, a few British warships were still kept on the Coast, for although the slave trade had been made illegal, an enormous amount of smuggling went on for many years. Owing to the fact that all traders caught transporting slaves were punished like common criminals, ultimately only Arabs of

the lowest class continued to engage in slave-hunting and trading. These men were prepared to run considerable risks in order to continue their profitable business, and when brought to bay by their pursuers would usually put up a good fight. The task of the British sailors employed in chasing these slave dhows was, therefore, by no means an easy one, and a number of naval men were killed during these encounters. Many of these British sailors who were killed in this manner, and also a number who died of disease while stationed off the Coast, are buried on Grave Island in Zanzibar harbour. Their graves thus bear witness for all time to the part played by the British Navy in the suppression of the slave trade in these waters. The incident of Lieutenant Cooper's death described in Mr. Lyne's book is typical of the kind of encounter referred to above: "Another Arab attack was made on October 17, 1888, off the island of Pemba, where Lieut. Cooper of the *Griffon* was cruising in the steam cutter with a crew of six men. About ten o'clock in the evening he observed a dhow which, on being required in the usual manner to heave to, at once opened a heavy fire, wounding Lieut. Cooper and two of the crew. Cooper was shot through the chest, but told Bray, the ship's corporal, to do his best and not mind him. The three unwounded men kept up a steady fire for half an hour, till the dhow and cutter both grounded, about ten

yards apart. Then the Arabs jumped overboard unseen and escaped, seventy-four slaves being rescued. The cutter, however, had hastened back to the ship with Lieut. Cooper, who, two hours after receiving the wound, died just as he came alongside the *Griffon*."

It must be clearly understood that all the events which we have been discussing were connected only with the slave trade, and had nothing to do with the actual condition of slavery in the Sultan's dominions. Slaves could no longer be bought and sold in the public market, nor could they lawfully be transported across the sea, but none of the treaties had done anything to abolish the condition of slavery itself. Owners who had purchased slaves before the market had been closed were still able to keep possession of them. This was not true of British Indians, however, who were British subjects. It will be remembered that according to one of the clauses of the Treaty of 1873 British subjects were prohibited from possessing slaves and from acquiring any fresh slaves.

We must now see what steps were taken to do away with the actual status of slavery, so that finally no slaves were left in East Africa. The first important move was made in this direction during the reign of Seyyid Khalifa, the successor of Seyyid Barghash. In September, 1889, an agreement was made with the British Government

whereby all persons entering the Sultan's dominions after 1st November of that year should be free, and also that all children born after January 1, 1890, should be free. The following year another law was made whereby all buying and selling of slaves was strictly prohibited and it was also decreed that if an owner died without lawful children, all his slaves should be granted their freedom. In addition, slaves were to be allowed, like freemen, to bring their complaints before the Kathis (Muhammadan magistrates), and those who could show that they had been cruelly treated by their masters were to be liberated. It was also decreed that any subject of the Sultan who habitually ill-treated his slaves would be liable to severe punishment.

The final step towards complete freedom was taken in 1897 when a decree was passed entirely abolishing the legal status of slavery in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. This decree did not apply to the rest of the coastal strip. It must be remembered, however, that after 1890 no slave could be bought or sold or otherwise acquired and every child born after that date was free, so that gradually the whole condition of slavery disappeared from every part of the Sultan's dominions.

We must now see what happened in Zanzibar and Pemba as a result of the decree of 1897. In order to ensure that its conditions were perfectly understood, officials, specially instructed in the work,

were sent throughout both islands to explain everything both to the owners and to the slaves. It must not be imagined that there was a rush for freedom on the part of all the slaves. Even by the end of June, when the decree had been in operation nearly three months, only 120 persons had claimed their freedom in the island of Zanzibar. This was largely due to the fact that many of the slaves were quite comfortable and happy in the households of their Arab masters. The most terrible features of slavery had always been connected with the actual transport of the slaves from the interior to the coast and the dhow journey to Zanzibar. Once they had reached their destination the slaves usually experienced good treatment. Many of the Arabs were kind masters so that a slave in Zanzibar often enjoyed a more secure and comfortable life than he would have done in his native village on the mainland. The slaves who worked on the clove plantations were usually given a hut and plot of ground and two days a week to cultivate it. Many slaves, especially those who acted as domestic servants in the town houses, had become so attached to their Arab masters that they did not apply for freedom.

Gradually, however, an increasing number of slaves came forward and demanded their freedom, and with the passing of time slavery entirely disappeared, so at the present time it is but an unpleasant memory.

CHAPTER XI

THE OPENING UP OF EAST AFRICA BY EUROPEANS

It will be remembered that, when Seyyid Said came to East Africa early in the nineteenth century, he had only conquered the most important towns along the coast, and had never actually made himself ruler of the interior. Owing to the extensive trading journeys made by many of the Arabs who followed him from Oman, his fame and influence gradually spread over a large part of the mainland, so that it was often said:

"When one pipes in Zanzibar,
They dance on the Lakes."

We have already had occasion to notice that many of these Arab traders settled down in various places on the mainland and became local Sultans, and that they looked upon the ruler of Zanzibar as a kind of overlord. It thus came about that, in time, the Omani Sultans of Zanzibar claimed to rule not only the whole of the coastline from Mogadishu to Kilwa, but also a vast area on the mainland stretching westwards from the coast as far as the great lakes. In spite of the claims thus made by the Sultan,

however, it must not be imagined that he ever exercised any very definite authority over this mainland territory. None of the Sultans of Zanzibar ever journeyed far into the interior, nor did they provide any effective form of government over the country which lay between the coast and the great lakes. Moreover, the various Arab Sultans in the interior who looked upon the Sultan of Zanzibar as a kind of overlord, were not really under his control but usually acted in an entirely independent manner.

Bearing these facts in mind, let us now try to understand how various European nations gradually acquired influence in these regions and ultimately came to govern nearly all of the mainland territory claimed by the Sultan of Zanzibar. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, Europeans knew very little about the interior of Africa. Their knowledge of this vast continent was confined to the coastlands where at various places they had opened up trading stations. A hundred years ago the map of Africa was a very easy one to draw, for most of the interior was left blank owing to the fact that Central Africa had not yet been explored. During the opening years of the nineteenth century a number of European travellers and explorers began to journey into the interior and gradually brought to light the main features of the continent. At first these travellers were mainly interested in the exploration of West Africa. Then towards the

thirties and forties of the century, interest began to be aroused in East and Central Africa. The first men to bring news of the great lakes and rivers of Central Africa were the Omani Arabs who travelled as far as the Congo in search of ivory and slaves.

The first Europeans to travel extensively in East Africa were the two German missionaries Krapf and Rebmann. Making Mombasa their headquarters, these two men made some remarkable journeys into the interior. Rebmann was the first European to see Mt. Kilimanjaro, which he discovered in 1848. In the following year Krapf not only sighted Kilimanjaro, but pushed his way much further north and caught a glimpse of Mt. Kenya. Besides these remarkable discoveries, Krapf and Rebmann brought back with them tales of the great Central African lakes which induced other intrepid travellers to explore these regions. It was about the same time that the greatest of all African explorers, the Scottish missionary, David Livingstone, commenced his series of wonderful journeys connected with the exploration of the Zambesi, the Shire river, and Lake Nyasa. In 1857 Burton and Speke went on a lengthy expedition to discover the great lakes which the two German missionaries had reported to exist. They made a wonderful journey from the mainland opposite Zanzibar to the shores of Lake Tanganyika. On the return journey, Speke discovered the south shore of the Victoria Nyanza. In 1862 Speke and

Grant reached the Victoria Nyanza and discovered the source of the Nile on its northern shore. In 1864, Sir Samuel Baker discovered the Albert Nyanza and proved that the Nile flowed into and out of it. In 1866 Livingstone began a series of explorations of East-Central Africa resulting in the discovery of the mighty Luapula River and of Lake Bangweolo. During the seventies of the century, Cameron and Stanley made some remarkable journeys in the very heart of the continent and explored the Congo.

Although the two German missionaries, Krapf and Rebmann, had journeyed in East Africa in 1848-9, it was not until the eighties that Europeans thoroughly explored the land lying between Mombasa and the Victoria Nyanza. Thus in 1882, Dr. Fischer, a German naturalist and explorer, proceeded from Pangani to Kilimanjaro and then across country to Lake Naivasha. In the following year Joseph Thomson followed much the same route but actually reached the Victoria Nyanza. He practically rediscovered Mt. Kenya (Krapf had only had a distant view of it) and made photographs of it. He was the first European to write a full account of the Kavirondo tribe. On his return journey he also discovered Mt. Elgon.

As a result of the arduous journeys of these and other African pioneers, most of the blank spaces on the map of Africa had been filled in by the last

quarter of the nineteenth century. In addition, quite a large number of books had been written describing the physical features and resources of the continent. The nations of Europe began to realise that there were vast tracts of land in Africa which might profitably be developed and opened up to European commerce. So the romantic period of discovery which we have just briefly traced was followed, at the end of the century, by a period of European colonisation and expansion. As the century drew to its close, traders and merchants anxious to exploit the wealth of Africa followed in the footsteps of the early explorers. Up to 1875 the only European nations which had any close connection with Africa had been Great Britain, Portugal and France. About this date another great European nation, namely Germany, also began to show great interest in Africa. After the year 1870 when they completely defeated the French in the Franco-Prussian War, the Germans had rapidly become one of the most powerful nations of Europe. It was the aim of the German people to lead the world in manufactures, commerce, and industry. Unfortunately Germany did not possess any extensive colonies overseas, and it was soon realized that this was a serious drawback. German statesmen felt that their country could not successfully compete with the other great European Powers, unless she could secure colonial possessions

which would supply her with raw materials, and also provide a market for German manufactured goods. Owing to the fact that Germany had developed into a strong united nation later than the other great European Powers, there were very few suitable places left in the world which had not already been colonised by her rivals. In fact, the German people complained that they wanted "a place in the sun."

Under these circumstances it was natural that Germany should turn her attention to Africa where there were extensive tracts of territory which had never come under European influence. During the last quarter of the nineteenth century, therefore, Germany commenced to acquire as much land as possible in this continent. This policy immediately aroused the jealousy and suspicion of the other European nations which were already in possession of African territory, and they at once began to acquire for themselves as much additional land as possible. So from the year 1875 there was a kind of race between the great Powers of Europe for the undeveloped lands of Africa. In 1884 a Conference of all the chief European nations concerned in this race for territory was held at Berlin. Various rules for this race were agreed upon, and it was decided that, in future, no European nation should annex any part of Africa without first giving notice to the other Powers, and also that the territory annexed

must be occupied in an effective manner. This meant that no nation should be allowed to claim land in Africa, unless it intended to administer and develop it properly.

We must now see how the events described above affected the East Coast of Africa during the reign of Seyyid Barghash. That Sultan ruled over some 1000 miles of coastline, stretching from Kilwa in the south to Mogadishu in the north. In addition, as we have already noted, he claimed authority over all the mainland territory extending westwards from the coast as far as the great lakes. Up to this time, Great Britain had been the European Power which had exerted the most influence in Zanzibar. This state of affairs was mainly due to the active part the British Navy had taken in the suppression of the slave trade in these regions, and to the character and tact of Sir John Kirk, who was for many years the chief British representative at the Sultan's court. It was towards the close of the reign of Seyyid Barghash that Germans first came to East Africa. Early in 1884 there had been formed in Germany a society called "The Society for German Colonization," whose aim was to encourage the colonial ambitions of the German people. Towards the end of 1884, Dr. Karl Peters, the President of this Society, together with two other prominent members, landed on the mainland of East Africa opposite Zanzibar. Their object was

to persuade as many chiefs as possible to make a treaty with the Society placing their territory under German protection. The first of these treaties was signed at Mbuzini (Bagamoyo District) where the German flag was raised for the first time in East Africa. The following is one of the treaties made by Dr. Karl Peters with a native chief. It is dated 29th November, 1884:

"Mangungo, Sultan of Msovero, in Usagara, and Doctor Karl Peters; Sultan Mangungo simultaneously for all his people and Dr. Peters for all his present and future associates, hereby conclude a Treaty of eternal friendship.

"Mangungo offers all his territory, with all its civil and public appurtenances, to Dr. Karl Peters, as the representative of the Society for German Colonization, for exclusive and universal utilisation for German Colonization.

"Dr. Karl Peters, in the name of the Society for German Colonization, declares his willingness to take over the territory of the Sultan Mangungo with all rights for German Colonization, subject to any existing suzerainty rights of Myweyi Sagara.

"In pursuance thereof, Sultan Mangungo hereby cedes all the territory of Msovero, belonging to him by inheritance or otherwise, for all time, to Dr. Karl Peters, making over to him at the same time all his rights. Dr. Karl Peters, in the name of the Society for German Colonization, undertakes to

give special attention to Msovero when colonising Usagara.

"This Treaty has been communicated to the Sultan Mangungo by the Interpreter Ramazan in clear manner, and has been signed by both sides with the observation of the formalities valid in Usagara, the Sultan on direct inquiry having declared that he was not in any way dependent upon the Sultan of Zanzibar, and that he even did not know of the existence of the latter."

As the Treaty quoted above is written in rather difficult legal language, a few explanatory words may be necessary to reveal its meaning clearly. It is a Treaty between Dr. Karl Peters, the representative of the Society for German Colonization, and a chief called Mangungo. The latter gives up all his territory and all his rights to the Society, and in return is promised that the Society will devote special attention to the development of this land. It is interesting to notice that in the last paragraph of the Treaty the chief declares that he is in no way dependent upon the Sultan of Zanzibar. Dr. Karl Peters inserted these words in the Treaty because he knew that when his intentions became known, the Sultan of Zanzibar would immediately claim that the mainland was part of his own dominions.

In a few months Dr. Karl Peters had collected quite a number of similar treaties whereby large tracts of mainland territory were handed over to

the Society for German Colonization. Early in 1885 he hastened back to Berlin where he founded the German East Africa Company, to whom he handed over all the rights he had obtained in these treaties. Shortly afterwards the German Emperor officially recognised this Company and issued a notice whereby his protection was extended to all the territory which had been acquired by the treaties. This really meant that the German Government had annexed for its own purposes a large part of the mainland nominally supposed to be under the rule of the Sultan of Zanzibar.

On hearing this news, Seyyid Barghash was extremely angry, and pointed out that the Germans had usurped his own rights. He immediately sent a telegram of protest to the German Emperor. The German Government took no notice of this protest, however, for they maintained that the Sultan of Zanzibar had never established any effective rule in the interior of Africa. They could also point to such treaties as the one quoted above in which a mainland chief had declared that he was in no way dependent upon the Sultan of Zanzibar. Under these trying circumstances, Seyyid Barghash turned to Sir John Kirk for help. The latter, although sympathising with Seyyid Barghash, could do nothing to support him as the British Government, for political reasons, had decided not to interfere in the matter. In spite of this fact,

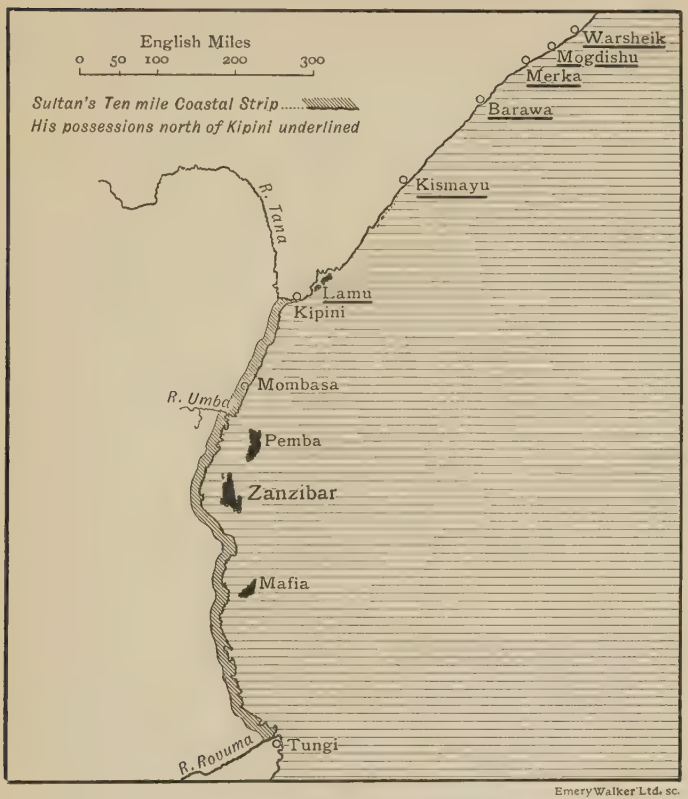
Seyyid Barghash refused to recognise the German claims and prepared an expedition to the mainland in order to delay the occupation of the country by the Germans. On 7th August, however, a German fleet anchored off the town of Zanzibar, and four days later the German commander demanded from Seyyid Barghash a recognition of the German Emperor's authority over various parts of the mainland. In the face of this show of force, Seyyid Barghash was obliged to yield and to recognise the German claims.

It now became necessary to decide what were the actual possessions of the Sultan of Zanzibar as judged by the test of effective occupation. The Germans even maintained that the Sultan had no real power over all the 1000 miles of coastline, and that his authority was in actual fact limited to a few of the coast towns. It was accordingly arranged between Great Britain, Germany and France, that a Commission should be appointed to enquire into the extent and the boundaries of the Sultan's mainland possessions. Their report was prepared by the beginning of June, 1886, and in November of the same year a Treaty was signed between Germany and Great Britain. By this treaty it was agreed that the Sultan's dominions included the islands of Zanzibar, Pemba and the Lamu Archipelago, in addition to a ten-mile belt along the coast from Tungi in the south to Kipini in the north; also the

following places north of Kipini, namely, Kismayu, Barawa, Merka, Mogadishu and Warsheik. The territory behind the Sultan's ten-mile strip was divided into two parts; the northern half from the Umba to the River Tana was given to Great Britain, while the southern half extending from the Rovuma to the Umba went to Germany.

By the expression, a "ten-mile belt," in the above treaty, it was meant that the whole of the coastland, for a depth of ten miles, belonged to the Sultan. The remainder of the mainland stretching behind this belt as far as the lakes now went to Germany and Great Britain.

So by the end of the reign of Seyyid Barghash the Sultan of Zanzibar had lost the bulk of the mainland territory to which he had laid claim. In a later chapter we shall see how these great areas were opened up by British and German administrators, and how they ultimately developed into the countries now known as Kenya Colony and Tanganyika Territory.



THE DELIMITATION TREATY OF 1886.
Note the Rivers Tana, Umba and Rovuma.

CHAPTER XII

CHRISTIAN MISSIONS ON THE EAST COAST

No history of the East Coast would be complete without some account of the work of Christian missions. In fact, the whole story of the opening up and subsequent development of tropical Africa during the nineteenth century is vitally bound up with various forms of missionary enterprise. A great deal of the earliest exploration of the vast interior during this century was, for example, carried out by missionaries. We have already had occasion to mention the names of Livingstone, Krapf and Rebmann in this connection. Such men cheerfully left their own native land, their homes and friends, in order to spread the news of Christianity among the heathen tribes of Africa. They bravely encountered all kinds of hardships and sufferings, and risked their lives not only by living among savages and by travelling through lands abounding with wild animals, but also by dwelling for long periods in a deadly climate.

These early missionaries were in every sense of the word pioneers—the first in the field. Their arduous labours made the path much smoother for

the white men who followed in their footsteps. Not only did they lead the way in exploration, but they were the first Europeans to study the native languages of Africa and to introduce the first elements of a more civilized way of living. They also led the way in opening hospitals and dispensaries and in examining the causes of many African diseases. They were also pioneers in educational work and usually opened schools at their mission centres.

Then again, it was largely due to the efforts of missionaries that the horrors of the slave trade were truly revealed, and that measures were at last taken to bring it to an end. Probably David Livingstone did more than any man to make known to his countrymen the terrible sufferings undergone by the slaves during their journey from the interior to the coast.

Let us now turn our attention to the story of several of the chief missionary bodies which did pioneer work on the East Coast during the nineteenth century.

(1) *The Church Missionary Society.*—The first missionary body to send men to these regions was the Church Missionary Society, founded in 1799 for work in "Africa and the East." In 1840 Dr. Krapf had been sent by this Society to Abyssinia to discover whether there was any scope for a Christian mission in that country. After a time he came to the conclusion that nothing could profitably be

accomplished there. Consequently, in 1844, he left Abyssinia and sailed for Zanzibar. There he was hospitably received by the British Consul, Colonel Hammerton, who introduced him to Seyyid Said. Dr. Krapf explained to the Sultan that he wished to settle at Mombasa in order that he might endeavour to convert the neighbouring tribes to Christianity. Seyyid Said gave him full permission to do so and furnished him with a letter of recommendation to the Arab governors of the Coast, written as follows: "This comes from Seyyid Said; greeting all our subjects, friends and governors. This letter is written in behalf of Dr. Krapf, a good man who wishes to convert the world to God. Behave well to him, and be everywhere serviceable to him." Dr. Krapf sailed for Mombasa in May, 1844, and soon set to work among the neighbouring Wanyika tribes. He had only been in the district a few months when he lost both his wife and baby from fever and was very badly ill himself. In a book, called *Researches and Missionary Labours*, he has left the following moving description of his wife's death: "In these trying moments I lay on my couch beside her death-bed, so prostrated by fever that only with the greatest effort could I rise up to convince myself that she was really dead. Lying in agony I could not rightly, at the moment, estimate the extent of this great loss. She was buried opposite to Mombasa on the mainland, in the

presence of the Governor, the Kadhi, and some Swahilis, by the wayside leading into the Wanyika territory. Afterwards Mr. Waters and his friends in Bombay erected a stone monument over the grave, so that it might always remind the wandering Swahilis and Wanyika, that here rested a Christian woman who had left father, mother, and home, to labour for the salvation of Africa."

In spite of this tragic beginning, Dr. Krapf did not allow himself to become discouraged, but bravely continued his missionary excursions among the Wanyika. In the year 1846 he was joined by the Rev. John Rebmann, and soon afterwards a mission station was opened at Rabai in the Wanyika country. It was during the next few years that these two stout-hearted men made the series of wonderful journeys into the interior which we have already described in the previous chapter.

They also spent a great deal of time and labour on a study of the native languages of this district. Some years later Dr. Krapf published a most valuable Swahili dictionary and also translated part of the Scriptures into that tongue. This pioneer language work was of immense help to the numerous missionaries who came to the country in later years. Rebmann made a special study of the Kinyika language and compiled a useful dictionary of that tongue. Altogether Rebmann worked on the Coast for nearly thirty years.

The Church Missionary Society also took an active interest in the suppression of the slave trade in East Africa. When Sir Bartle Frere returned home after his visit to Seyyid Barghash in 1873, he strongly urged the Society to establish at Mombasa a settlement for liberated slaves. Tidings of David Livingstone's death had recently reached England, so that many people at the time were immensely interested in the slave traffic and willing to help those who wished to suppress it. Money was therefore easily collected for Sir Bartle Frere's scheme. In 1874 the Church Missionary Society sent the Rev. W. S. Price to Mombasa to start the settlement. A plot of ground was bought on the mainland opposite Mombasa town; houses were built, and the settlement was named "Frere Town," in honour of its originator. In the following year no less than 500 slaves rescued from Arab dhows by British cruisers were received into Frere Town. Gradually a number of the neighbouring Wanyika attached themselves to the settlement, and Frere Town became the head-quarters of the Church Missionary Society's work on the East Coast of Africa.

A few years later mission work was also commenced on the island of Mombasa itself. Several schools were opened and a beautiful cathedral was erected.

(2) *The Universities' Mission to Central Africa.*—Let us now look at the work of another famous

mission, namely, the Universities' Mission to Central Africa, so called because it was founded in 1856 as the result of an appeal by Livingstone to the universities of Oxford and Cambridge. The Mission first commenced active work in 1861 in the district of the Shire River, under the leadership of Bishop Mackenzie. The start was unfortunate, however, as owing to the deadly nature of the climate, Bishop Mackenzie and most of his helpers died within the first year. When his successor, Bishop Tozer, arrived on the Shire River in 1863, he decided to suspend work in that country for a time and to make Zanzibar his base. Owing to its central position off the East Coast, he realized that Zanzibar would make an excellent "jumping off place" for further work inland.

Accompanied by Dr. Steere, Bishop Tozer arrived in Zanzibar in August, 1864. After a few days spent in the house of the British Consul, it was arranged with the Sultan, Seyyid Majid, that the Mission should be rented a large house facing the sea at a quarter of the town called Shangani. The Sultan also gave Bishop Tozer five young boys off an Arab slave dhow, and it was with the training of these children that the Mission's work in Zanzibar began. In a short time other boys were brought to the Mission House. The Bishop commenced to bring them up in the Christian faith and to educate them with a view to their becoming either teachers

or Christian priests when they were old enough for the work. It was the Bishop's ambition to train an African ministry and to entrust to it a great deal of the work of converting the mainland peoples to Christianity.

Meanwhile Dr. Steere, who was a fine linguist, set himself to give special attention to the study of Swahili. He also erected a printing press at the Mission House and trained some of the youths as printers. In 1865 he began to print the first pages of *A Handbook of the Swahili Language as spoken in Zanzibar*. He also made a valuable collection of Swahili tales and, as his mastery of the language increased, commenced to translate the Bible and a great deal of the Church Service into Swahili. Dr. Steere will always be remembered on the Coast for his great work in connection with the Swahili tongue. All the subsequent work which has been done in the writing of books, grammars and dictionaries has largely been based upon the firm foundation which he laid.

In 1865 the Bishop bought an estate just outside Zanzibar town at a spot called Kiungani. Here there was gradually built St. Andrew's College, an institution intended for the training of selected African youths either for the profession of teaching or for the ministry.

A few years later Bishop Tozer purchased another piece of ground on the coast of the island some four

miles to the south of the town. This place was called Mbweni and was at first used to accommodate new-comers to the Mission while they were getting accustomed to their fresh mode of life. A few years later it was decided to build at Mbweni a village for freed slaves. It began with seven men and fifteen women living in homes of their own, and in time, as the result of further captures from dhows, the population had increased to 140. It was also at Mbweni that one of the Mission ladies, called Miss Thackeray, established a home for about seventy girls destined to be teachers or the wives of teachers. At the village where the freed slaves were settled, all the people had their own plots of ground and cultivated their own food. A certain amount of lime burning was also carried on. In time a handsome stone church with a fine tower was built at Mbweni for the worship of the inhabitants of this Christian settlement.

So far we have only considered the work of the Mission in Zanzibar. It will be remembered that it was Bishop Tozer's aim to use the island as a "jumping off" station for work in the interior of Africa. As early as 1867 the first mainland station was opened at Magila in the Usumbara country behind Tanga. Gradually the influence of the Mission spread throughout this region with Magila as a centre, and a number of Mission posts with their schools and hospitals were opened up.

A few years later, work was also commenced further south in the land lying to the north of the Rovuma River. Dr. Steere, who had become Bishop in 1874, visited this region in 1875 and decided to plant a colony of selected Christians from Mbweni at a spot called Masasi. In the following year the Bishop himself led these people from the freed slave village of Mbweni at Zanzibar to this new settlement to the north of the Rovuma. There were thirty-one men and twenty-four women, mostly married couples. Immediately they arrived at Masasi these colonists set to work to build a Christian village, the Bishop himself leading the way by marking out the site of the Mission House and by planning a broad road running through the settlement with allotments of nearly half an acre on either side. Masasi proved to be quite a healthy place, and in course of time a happy Christian community developed there and gradually influenced all the surrounding country.

It will be remembered that the Mission had originally started work in Nyasaland on the Shire River under Bishop Mackenzie in 1861 and had been obliged to withdraw temporarily from that country owing to disease. In 1880 work was opened up again in Nyasaland at a village called Mwembe, the capital of the Yaos.

Let us now return to the work that was being carried on by the Mission in Zanzibar. In June,

1873, as we have seen in a previous chapter, the notorious slave market had been closed. The actual site of the market was shortly afterwards given to Bishop Steere by a rich Hindoo merchant called Jairam Senji. The adjoining ground was also purchased for the Mission by one of its members called Mr. West. Bishop Steere at once decided to build on this land a permanent stone church and the first stone was laid on Christmas Day, 1873. It was decided that the church, which afterwards became the Cathedral church of the diocese, should be named Christ Church. For four years the work went forward, Bishop Steere being himself the master builder and clerk of works. While staying in Zanzibar, he directed every detail of the building; it was he who planned the scaffolding and cording, besides seeing nearly every stone into its place; he even had to teach his native masons to distinguish a straight line from a crooked one. The mixing of the mortar, the shaping of the arches, and the design of the windows, all claimed his care in spite of the labour he was at the time expending on the translation of the Scriptures into Swahili. The first service was said in Christ Church Cathedral on Christmas Day, 1877. When, worn out by his unceasing journeys and labours in Africa, Bishop Steere passed away in August, 1882, he was buried in this church which he had himself erected. The noble building with its slender clock

tower is the great missionary Bishop's most fitting monument. His grave is behind the high altar, which is on the actual spot where once stood the whipping post of the old slave market.

THE CATHEDRAL CHURCH OF CHRIST, ZANZIBAR.
(Built on the site of the Slave Market.)

So, by the end of the nineteenth century, the work of the Universities' Mission to Central Africa was being carried on in four areas. In the Usumbara country, round Masasi near the Rovuma, round Mwembe in Nyasaland, and finally in the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba. Work had been commenced in the latter island in August, 1897, in the neighbourhood of Weti.

(3) *The Mission of the Holy Ghost.*—Let us now turn our attention to the first missionary work

which was carried out by the Roman Catholic Church on the East Coast. The Roman Catholic Mission was founded by Dr. Amand Manponit, Bishop of St. Denis, Réunion, who sent his Vicar-General to the island of Zanzibar in 1860. This first expedition, which landed in Zanzibar towards the end of December, 1860, was composed of M. Fava, the Vicar-General, two priests, six nuns and a surgeon of the French Navy. Soon after landing they called upon the Sultan, Seyyid Majid, and informed him that they wished to look after the sick, nourish the poor, and teach their converts useful trades. Seyyid Majid made them very welcome and expressed the hope that their work would prove a blessing to his subjects.

The missionaries commenced work by opening two hospitals, one for European sailors, and the other for natives. Next door to the hospital, M. Fava started an elementary school and in addition an industrial school where young Africans were to be taught various trades and handicrafts.

Two years later the work of the Mission was entrusted to the care of the Fathers of the Society of the Holy Ghost and to the Sisters of the Sacred Heart. The Rev. Father Horner was placed at the head of the Mission and arrived in Zanzibar in June, 1863. He spent nearly a quarter of a century in these regions, and laid the excellent foundation on

which all the subsequent work of the Mission has been built.

The medical and educational work which had been commenced in 1861 was carried on and extended. So full were the two hospitals that nine sisters could not cope properly with the work. Meanwhile in the elementary school the Fathers taught reading, writing, arithmetic, singing and the catechism. In the industrial school the pupils were trained as carpenters, blacksmiths, locksmiths and wheelwrights. The Mission was especially distinguished by the practical nature of the work which it carried out. The majority of the European members of the Mission were skilled in some trade, so that not only were they capable of undertaking the pioneer work such as erecting houses, hospitals, and chapels, but they were also in a position to train their native converts in a practical and useful manner. Nearly all the first converts were freed slaves. Father Horner frequently visited the slave market (which was not closed until 1873) and purchased as many slaves as the funds of the Mission would permit. These slaves were then brought up by the Mission.

In 1867 the Rev. Father Horner visited the mainland opposite Zanzibar in order to look for a suitable place in which to establish a new Mission station. He finally decided that Bagamoyo would be the most convenient spot for the purpose. In 1868 he took possession of a plot of ground near Bagamoyo

and established there an agricultural colony for some of the Zanzibar converts of the Mission. His aim was to form a Christian village in which the freed slaves would be removed from the many temptations of Zanzibar town, and where they could lead an agricultural life amid healthy surroundings. Ploughs and other agricultural implements were brought out from Europe, and in a short time a flourishing colony of Christians was formed. It is interesting to note that in 1870 coffee was planted for the first time in East Africa at Bagamoyo, and that at about the same period the systematic planting of coconuts and vanilla was begun. In 1869 a girls' school was opened, and in the following year Father Horner transferred from Zanzibar to Bagamoyo a small seminary which he had started for the purpose of training promising young Africans for the priesthood. By the year 1872 the population of this Christian village had risen to about 700 souls.

In that year a great disaster overtook the Mission. It will be remembered that in 1872 a terrible cyclone visited Zanzibar. Many of the Mission buildings in the town were badly damaged. The cyclone also burst upon Bagamoyo and there the havoc was much greater than in Zanzibar town. Practically all the buildings which had been erected at such great labour during the previous four years were blown to the ground, while the plants and trees

of the surrounding plantation were all uprooted. Fortunately no lives were lost.

The brave missionaries did not allow this disaster to discourage them, for they at once set to work to reconstruct the buildings and to repair the damage. Friends of the Mission in France and Germany generously sent money for this purpose, and in a comparatively short time the station at Bagamoyo was in a flourishing condition again.

Some years later a handsome Cathedral (St. Joseph's) was built in Zanzibar town. This building, which is one of the finest pieces of architecture on the East Coast, was constructed entirely by the Fathers and their pupils. Another example of the excellent work done by the Mission was the opening of a poor-house at Walezo, some four miles outside Zanzibar town. This place was intended as a home for the sick and aged poor, and also as a hospital for lepers.

The first Bishop of the Mission, Dr. de Courmont, was appointed in 1883. In 1892 work was commenced at Mombasa, while in 1897 a station was opened at Dongoni near Chake Chake in the island of Pemba.

One of the best known members of the Mission during the closing years of the nineteenth century was Père Sacleux who worked at Zanzibar and Bagamoyo from 1885 until 1895. Besides publishing grammars and dictionaries of Swahili in the French

language, he made many valuable translations of religious books into Swahili, notably the Roman Catholic Catechism and *The Imitation of Christ* (Thomas à Kempis). He also laid the foundations for the classifications of the Flora and Fauna of East Africa.

ST. JOSEPH'S CATHEDRAL, ZANZIBAR.

(4) *The Friends' Industrial Mission, Pemba.*—Lastly we must consider the work which has been done by the Friends' Industrial Mission in Pemba. It is called the "Friends' Mission" because all of its members belong to the Society of Friends or the "Quakers." This religious body has always been especially interested in the suppression of slavery and the slave trade.

It was in connection with the abolition of slavery that the Mission commenced its labours. The Society of Friends organised the Pemba Mission just before the legal status of slavery was abolished by the Sultan of Zanzibar in 1897. The aim of the Mission was to work among the slave and freed slave population of Pemba. The pioneer in these labours was Mr. Theodore Burtt, who arrived in Pemba in January, 1897, a few months before the decree abolishing the legal status of slavery was published. During his first few years in the island, Mr. Burtt did a great deal to assist the Pemba slaves in obtaining their freedom, and in helping them to adjust themselves to the new mode of life with which they were faced when they became free.

His work was chiefly carried on at Chake Chake and at Banani. At the latter place he purchased a fairly large plantation on which many of the freed slaves were encouraged to settle and work. The Mission was called "Industrial" because it was thought that the slaves could best be uplifted and turned into useful citizens by learning to work for themselves. Like that of the Roman Catholic Mission described above, the work of the Friends in Pemba was extremely practical.

In a short time Mr. Theodore Burtt was joined by other helpers from the Society of Friends. Medical and elementary educational work was set

on foot, and everything possible was done to improve the welfare of the people who came under the influence of the Mission. In recent years work has also been commenced in the central and southern parts of Pemba.

CHAPTER XIII

ZANZIBAR IN MODERN TIMES

In this chapter it will be convenient to leave the history of the remainder of the East Coast and confine our attention to the story of the islands of Zanzibar and Pemba from the death of Seyyid Barghash in 1888 down to the present day. The latter Sultan was succeeded by his brother, Khalifa bin Said, who reigned for only two years. He was followed in 1890 by Seyyid Ali bin Said, the last of the sons of the great Seyyid Said to occupy the throne of Zanzibar.

The chief event of this reign was the Proclamation on 4th November, 1890, of a British Protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba. This meant that although the two islands were still to have as their ruler the Sultan, yet the administration and government was, in future, to be placed in the hands of British officials. The Sultan was no longer to be independent. Although still the nominal ruler of these two islands, he had very little real power. So, by this date, the extensive East African empire, which it had been the ambition of Seyyid Said to build up for himself and his descendants, had now

almost entirely fallen into other hands. We have already seen how the mainland portions of the empire had been divided up between Germany and Great Britain. This was partly due, as we have noted, to the European race for territory in Tropical Africa, and partly to the inability of Seyyid Said's successors to establish effective rule in those regions. Even in Zanzibar and Pemba the Sultans had exercised very little real power over their wealthy Arab subjects. The latter did not regard the "Seyyid" as a sovereign, but merely as the first Arab in the kingdom. By the year 1890 the ruler of Zanzibar had, in fact, become nearly bankrupt, and if Great Britain had not stepped in and declared a Protectorate, it is certain that another European Power, most probably Germany, would have been ready to assume control over the defenceless state.

The British official to whom was entrusted the task of re-organising the government under British protection was Sir Lloyd Matthews. He was given the title of First Minister to the Sultan. Sir Lloyd Matthews had first come to these parts in 1875 as a lieutenant in the British Navy, when he had taken an active share in the work of suppressing the slave trade. Two years later he was allowed to leave his work in the Navy and enter into the service of Seyyid Barghash in order to train for the latter a small military force of 500 men. The young lieutenant was most successful in training this band

of native soldiers, and Seyyid Barghash was very pleased with his success. In 1881, having obtained permission to retire from the British Navy, he was made commander of the Sultan's small army and was given the rank of Brigadier-General in Zanzibar. During the next few years he played an active part in helping to put down the slave trade. By means of his small body of well-disciplined troops he successfully subdued many of the wealthy, turbulent Arabs who had for so long disobeyed the Sultan's orders concerning the slave trade. There is no doubt that Matthews was an ideal man for this work, because though swift and severe in his treatment of those who broke the law, he was nevertheless respected by the Arabs, who admired his manliness and justice.

Sir Lloyd Matthews had therefore seen fifteen years' service on the East Coast when he became the First Minister to Seyyid Khalifa in 1890. He was undoubtedly the most suitable Englishman to introduce the various reforms required now that the country had come under British protection. He at once set to work to introduce more modern methods of government and to remodel the whole of the administration, which was in a completely muddled condition owing to the entire lack, in the past, of any business-like procedure. We have already noted that the Sultan himself was quickly approaching bankruptcy. There had been no

attempt whatever to keep a proper account of income and expenditure. The money which was collected by the Customs officials was simply paid straight into the Palace and paid out again by the Sultan or his officials to numerous dependents and hangers-on, without any system of checking what had been paid in or paid out. Such haphazard ways of dealing with the finances of a state were bound, sooner or later, to lead to confusion and trouble. To make matters worse the Sultan was surrounded by a number of dishonest advisers who were continually putting a large share of the revenue into their own pockets. It must also be remembered that, owing to the loss of his mainland territories, the Sultan's revenue had been reduced to about one-third of its former size. Yet the Sultan had not made any effort to reduce his expenditure.

The first task with which Sir Lloyd Matthews was therefore faced was a complete re-organization of the finances of the Protectorate. It was arranged that, in future, proper accounts of income and expenditure should be kept, and that a number of government departments should be established under the direct control of British officials. In this manner various improvements were slowly but surely carried out. The Customs and Post Offices were re-organised, and schemes of road-making, lighting, and sanitation were introduced. An efficient Port service was set up under a British Port

Officer. It was decided to enforce the registration of all native vessels using the harbour. In addition, lighthouses were erected, the approaches to the harbour were buoyed, and wharves were constructed. On February 1st, 1892, the first newspaper made its appearance under the title of *The Gazette for Zanzibar and East Africa*. It was the means whereby the Government published official information and notices, and it also contained a certain amount of general news.

When Seyyid 'Ali bin Said died in 1893 he was succeeded by Seyyid Hamed bin Thuwaini, one of the grandsons of Seyyid Said. His succession to the throne was marked by considerable disturbances in the town of Zanzibar owing to the fact that Seyyid Khaled, the eldest surviving son of Seyyid Barghash, considered that he had a better claim to the Sultanate, and made a desperate attempt to seize the throne by force. It was only through the prompt action of the British Consul-General and of Sir Lloyd Matthews that bloodshed was avoided. Although Khaled was thus defeated in his attempt to usurp the throne, he continued to make plans and to collect supporters. When Seyyid Hamed bin Thuwaini died in 1896, after a short reign of only three years, Khaled made an even more determined attempt to become Sultan, in spite of the fact that the British representatives in Zanzibar had warned him that the successor was

to be Seyyid Hamoud bin Muhammad. Before the dead Sultan had even been buried, Seyyid Khaled, with the help of hundreds of armed Arabs, broke into the Palace and proclaimed himself Sultan. This event occurred on 25th August, 1896. Next day a British fleet under the command of Rear-Admiral Rawson arrived in the harbour, and parties of marines were immediately sent ashore to guard the residence of the British Consul-General, the Customs, and the European Quarter. In spite of every effort made by the British representatives to persuade Khaled to submit, he absolutely refused to leave the Palace. On the morning of 27th August the Admiral therefore sent an ultimatum to Seyyid Khaled informing him that if he had not surrendered within two hours he would open fire on the Palace with the guns of his warships. No reply was sent by Seyyid Khaled, so that exactly at 9 a.m. the three warships in the harbour started to bombard the Palace. None of the Arabs supporting Seyyid Khaled had any idea of what such a bombardment would mean. Some of them were even foolish enough to imagine that the British guns would merely discharge water. The instant havoc caused by the ships' guns therefore came to them as a complete surprise. In half an hour the Palace was in flames, the middle portion of the building was in ruins, and 500 dead and wounded lay in and about the Palace square.

AFTER THE BOMBARDMENT, 1896. ZANZIBAR.

Horrified by the ruin and slaughter which he had caused, Seyyid Khaled fled from the Palace and made his way down the main street to the German Consulate. He embarked from there secretly to Dar-es-Salaam where he was allowed to live by the German administration. There he stayed peacefully until the Great War, when he joined the Germans against the British. He was captured by the British forces in 1917 and exiled to the island of St. Helena. In 1921 he was removed to the Seychelles, and in the following year, on promising that he would never again consider himself a candidate for the Sultanate of Zanzibar, he was allowed by the British Government to return to East Africa and reside at Mombasa. There he lived in quiet retirement until his death in 1927.

Shortly after the flight of Seyyid Khaled from the ruined Palace, Seyyid Hamoud bin Muhammad bin Said was conducted by the British representatives into the Custom House and was there proclaimed Sultan of Zanzibar. Seyyid Hamoud reigned peacefully and prosperously, and was very British in his sympathies. He did a great deal to encourage the adoption of British ways and ideas among his subjects, and he even sent his son, Seyyid Ali, to be educated at an English Public School (Harrow).

It was during this reign that the legal status of slavery was abolished in the Protectorate, an event we have already noticed in Chapter XII. The

period was therefore one of great change in Zanzibar and Pemba. Gradually a state of society which had been founded on slave labour was replaced by one based on hired labour.

During this reign there was also a considerable increase in British control over the affairs of the Protectorate. This change was mainly brought about by the appointment of a larger number of British officials to the various branches of the Government. The work of these British officials in introducing more modern and enlightened methods of administration was greatly helped by the sympathetic attitude shown by the Sultan himself.

The closing years of the reign were overclouded by the loss of Sir Lloyd Matthews, who died on 14th October, 1901. His death came as a severe shock to all the inhabitants of the Protectorate. For so long had he been connected with the welfare of the two islands that he seemed to have become part of the very life of the country, and it was difficult to realise that his guiding hand had been removed. Twenty-six years of his life had been given to East Africa, and during that long period he had only twice returned to his own native land. During the course of his service in Zanzibar he had completely won the confidence and affection of the people. So great was his reputation for justice and wisdom, that natives would undertake journeys of many months

from the interior in order to ask his decision in their disputes.

On 18th July, 1902, scarcely a year after the death of Sir Lloyd Matthews, his friend and adviser, Seyyid Hamoud also passed away, at the age of fifty-one, and was succeeded by his son, Seyyid Ali. As the latter was still a minor he did not assume the full responsibilities of his office until 1905 when he attained his majority. During the intervening period, the First Minister, Mr. Rogers, acted as regent for the young Sultan. It will be remembered that Seyyid Ali bin Hamoud had been sent to England for part of his education. This fairly long absence from his own native land had given him a taste for foreign travel. After his accession to the Sultanate, he usually spent part of every year travelling in Europe. His manner of living while in the Protectorate was also largely conducted along European lines. He left Zanzibar in 1911 in order to attend the coronation of King George V, and while he was in Europe he decided to abdicate. The rest of his life was spent abroad, and he died in Paris in 1918.

Seyyid Ali was succeeded in 1911 by His Highness Sir Khalifa bin Harub, who occupies the throne of Zanzibar at the present day. In 1913 the offices of First Minister to the Sultan, and British Consul-General were abolished, and in their places two new offices were created, namely those of British

Resident and Chief Secretary. At the same time the Zanzibar Protectorate Council was formed with His Highness as President, the British Resident as Vice-President, and in addition three official members and four unofficial members to represent various communities.

On the outbreak of the Great War in 1914, Zanzibar, owing to its nearness to British East Africa and German East Africa, was in one of the theatres of war. As Zanzibar was under the protection of Great Britain, war was declared with Germany on 5th August, 1914. The Protectorate made considerable contributions to the campaign which was fought between the Germans and the British on the mainland of East Africa. Quite a number of the inhabitants enlisted in the King's African Rifles, while thousands were also recruited as carriers. In addition, a sum of £70,000 was contributed towards the cost of carrying on the war, and £245,000 was invested in War Loan. £19,000 was also raised by public subscription for the British Red Cross Society.

Since the conclusion of the Great War much has been done to develop the resources of the Protectorate. A harbour has been built and an extensive system of road construction in both Zanzibar and Pemba has been commenced and is now nearing completion. The present British Resident, Sir Claud Hollis, K.C.M.G., C.B.E., has constantly

emphasized the prime importance of roads and has been mainly responsible for the large amount of road construction which has been carried out during recent years. In his speech to the Legislative Council on 29th October, 1927, he said, "I am more than ever convinced of the supreme importance of road construction in this Protectorate. Quite apart from the direct benefit of improved transport facilities, there is the still more valuable reaction on the minds and habits of the people of the country districts."

Much has also been done during recent years to develop a sound scheme of elementary education in both islands. A Teachers' Training School has been opened and gradually a number of District Schools are being built in every part of the Protectorate. In 1927 an Arab Girls' School under a European Headmistress was also opened in Zanzibar town.

A good deal of attention has also recently been paid to the clove industry which had shown signs of declining. Experts have been brought out to study the diseases which attack the clove tree, Government legislation has been passed in connection with the grading of cloves, highly trained agricultural officers have been appointed to the Agricultural Department, and a Clove Growers' Association has been formed for the purpose of encouraging and stimulating more co-operation among the clove growers themselves. It is thus hoped

to set on a yet firmer basis the industry on which the prosperity of the Protectorate chiefly depends.

THE BRITISH RESIDENCY, ZANZIBAR.

Lastly, in 1926, the Protectorate Council was replaced by Executive and Legislative Councils. The object of the Legislative Council, which although having an official majority includes a number of unofficial members, is to give to the subjects of His Highness the Sultan a greater share in the government of their country than had hitherto been the case. The Legislative Council is entrusted, subject to His Highness's assent, with the power to make laws to provide for the administration of justice, the raising of revenue, and generally for the peace, order and good government of the Protectorate.

CHAPTER XIV

THE EAST COAST IN MODERN TIMES

In the previous chapter we have traced the story of Zanzibar and Pemba from the declaration of the British Protectorate in 1890 down to the present day. We must now very briefly follow the history of the mainland coastal region during the same period.

Let us first see what happened in the area which had been placed under British influence. This territory, stretching from the Umba to the Tana, was at first administered by a trading company called the Imperial British East Africa Company, which was formed in 1888. The founding of this company was chiefly due to the enterprise of Sir William Mackinnon, chairman of the British India Steam Navigation Company. It will be remembered that as early as 1872 a regular mail service between Aden and Zanzibar had been started by this shipping company. Seyyid Barghash had been so pleased with the results of this venture, and he was so anxious to encourage British merchants to trade in his territory, that in 1877 he had offered to Sir William Mackinnon a lease, lasting seventy years,

of all the customs and administration of his mainland dominions. This action of Seyyid Barghash clearly showed the very friendly feeling which at that time existed between him and the British. As Sir William Mackinnon was himself extremely interested in developing trade in these regions he carefully considered the Sultan's offer. Finally, however, he decided not to accept it owing to the fact that he was unable to obtain the support of the British Government, which at that date (1877) was not anxious to assume responsibilities in Eastern Africa. By thus refusing to encourage the efforts of British traders the British Government left the way open to German enterprise. In Chapter XI we have already seen how the Germans first came to these parts in 1884 and proceeded to make treaties with various mainland chiefs.

By the year 1888 the situation had, therefore, completely changed. On realising that the Germans intended to develop large tracts of the mainland, the British Government began to take a keener interest in East African affairs. So in 1888, more than ten years after the original offer made by Seyyid Barghash, the East Africa Company was formed by Sir William Mackinnon for the purpose of developing the territory which had been placed in 1886 under British influence.

A few years later a revolt of the Mazrui Arabs broke out against the administration of the Com-

pany. Although the chief power of the Mazrui at Mombasa had been completely overthrown by Seyyid Said in the early years of the nineteenth century, yet it had never completely been extinguished. After Seyyid Said's severe treatment of their leaders, the elder branch of the family had moved to Gasi, about thirty miles to the south of Mombasa, and had there founded a small state. The younger branch of the family had set up a similar small state at Takaungu some thirty miles to the north of Mombasa. The rebellion broke out in February, 1895, owing to the fact that on the death of the Wali of Takaungu the Company selected as his successor his son, Rashid bin Salim. This appointment was resisted by many of the Mazrui, who maintained that a man called Mbaruk bin Rashid had, according to Muhammadan law, a much better claim to the post. The Company refused to consider the claims of this person, however, because it was known that he was not favourable to the British. Mbaruk decided to take up arms against the Company, and he was soon joined by the elder branch of the Mazrui at Gasi. In a short time the coastal area which came under the administration of the Company was in a disturbed condition, and quite a number of villages and plantations were being burned and looted by the rebels.

So serious did the revolt become that a British expedition composed partly of native troops and

partly of British marines was organised to quell it. In August, 1895, this British force successfully stormed the forest stronghold of the Mazrui chief of Gazi, who was also called Mbaruk bin Rashid. The struggle still continued for some months, but ultimately in April, 1896, Mbaruk of Gasi, seeing that the struggle was hopeless, crossed the frontier into German territory and there surrendered to the German Governor. The failure of this rebellion of the Mazrui definitely marks the end of Arab power on the coast and its replacement by that of Europeans.

It was during the course of this rebellion that the rule of the Imperial British East Africa Company came to an end. On July 1st, 1895, the British Government assumed control over the vast territory which the Company had endeavoured to open up. The land was known as the British East Africa and the Uganda Protectorates, while after the Great War the former was renamed Kenya Colony.

Let us now see what had been happening during the same period in the country which had been placed within the German sphere of influence. It will be remembered that according to the Treaty of 1886 the Germans had been allotted the territory which lay behind the ten-mile coastal strip extending from the Rovuma to the Umba. They lost no time in commencing to develop the resources of the

country, and so vigorous were their methods that they soon incurred the dislike of many of the native peoples with whom they came into contact. In April, 1888, the German East Africa Association obtained from the Sultan of Zanzibar a fifty years' concession of the coastal district including the administration of justice, the customs, lands and buildings. This concession referred to the ten-mile strip which still belonged to the Sultan. In August of the same year, the German East Africa Company took over the administration of this coastal area from the Arabs. Although the Sultan had thus ceded the administration of the coast to the Germans, yet the Arabs, who up to that time had been the Sultan's subjects, were by no means willing to show loyalty to strangers whose methods and habits they strongly disliked. The Company therefore encountered a good deal of hostility when it started to take over the administration. At Bagamoyo the inhabitants would not allow the German flag to be hoisted until a German gunboat appeared on the scene and threatened to use force. There was also violent opposition to the Germans at Tanga. The Arabs fired on the boat in which the Germans approached until a gunboat bombarded the town and a party of marines landed and drove the Arabs into the bush. In a short time, in fact, there was a general revolt among the coastal Arabs against German rule. This revolt

was led by a man called Bushiri bin Salim. As the German East Africa Company was not strong enough to quell the revolt, the German Government sent out Captain Wissmann with 1000 soldiers, chiefly Sudanese, officered by Germans, and also a naval contingent. Captain Wissmann arrived in East Africa in April, 1889, and by the end of that year he had completely crushed the power of the Arabs living in German territory. Bushiri was captured at Usagara and was taken to Pangani where he was hanged in December, 1889.

In the following year the rights of the Sultan of Zanzibar over the ten-mile coastal strip between the Rovuma and the Umba, including the island of Mafia, were purchased by Germany for a sum of £200,000. Thus the whole of the country came under direct German rule and was known as German East Africa. In addition, in 1892, the ports of Barawa, Merka, Mogadishu and Warsheikh were ceded by the Sultan to Italy.

By the opening of the twentieth century the whole of the territory which had come either under German or British rule was being actively opened up and developed. The story of the East Coast from that time becomes more or less bound up with the general history of British and German East Africa, and we shall not study it in this book, which is intended to deal only with the coastal region. After the Great War, the rule of the Germans in

East Africa came to an end. The former German territory was handed over by the League of Nations to Great Britain to be administered as a Mandated Territory. It was then renamed Tanganyika Territory. The provinces of Ruanda and Urundi in the north-west were transferred to the Belgians.

We thus come to the end of our story. It is the tale of a fertile coastal region which in very early times was visited by all kinds of merchants, traders and conquerors from distant lands; which fell under the rule of the Omani Arabs in the eighteenth century, and later, through the genius of Seyyid Said, was developed into an Arab Empire; which in the nineteenth century witnessed the drama of the final suppression of slavery and the slave trade; which later was the centre of the European race for the acquisition of land in Africa; and which, finally, came under British rule and became part of the British Empire.

CHRONOLOGICAL TABLE

(c=Circa i.e. about or approximately)

	c. 60	Probable date of **Periplus.**
		The Bantu peoples spreading towards the coast.
	622	The "Hijra."
	c. 700	The flight of Suleiman and Said.
	c. 750	The Ammu Zaid settle on the Benadir coast.
	c. 908	The states of Mogadishu and Barawa founded by the Seven Brothers of El Hasa.
Period of Zanj Empire.	975	The state of Kilwa founded by Hasan bin Ali.
	1107	Building of mosque at Kizimkazi (Zanzibar).
	1204	Probable date of founding of the state of Vumba.
	c. 1497	End of the Zenj Empire.
Period of Portuguese Dominion.	1498	Vasco da Gama visits the East Coast.
	1500–1509	Portuguese Conquest of the Coast.
	1587	The Wazimba capture Kilwa.
	1589	The Wazimba and Ali Bey at Mombasa.
	1591	First English visit to the Coast (Sir James Lancaster).
	1592	The King of Malindi made Sultan of Mombasa by the Portuguese.
	1593	The Portuguese commence to build "Jesus Fort" at Mombasa.
	1622	The Portuguese driven from Ormuz.
	1651	The Portuguese expelled from Muscat by Sultan bin Seif.
	1660	Temporary capture of Mombasa from the Portuguese by Sultan bin Seif.
	1698	Capture of Mombasa by Seif bin Sultan.
	1699	Seif bin Sultan drives the Portuguese from Pemba and Kilwa.
	1741	Ahmed bin Said, founder of the Albusaid Dynasty, is elected Imam of Oman.
		Growth of the power of the Mazrui family on the East Coast, especially at Mombasa, during this century.
	1804	Seyyid Said becomes effective ruler of Oman.
	1828	Seyyid Said defeats the Mazrui at Mombasa, and they acknowledge his supremacy.
		First visit of Seyyid Said to Zanzibar. He begins the planting of clove trees.

1832	Seyyid Said makes Zanzibar his capital.
1837	Final suppression of the Mazrui of Mombasa by Seyyid Said.
	American Consulate established at Zanzibar.
1841	British Consulate established at Zanzibar.
1844	The first missionary sent to the East Coast.
1848	Mt. Kilimanjaro discovered by Rebmann.
1856	Death of Seyyid Said.
1860	Founding of the Roman Catholic Mission to the East Coast.
1861	Separation of the governments of Oman and Zanzibar.
1870	Accession of Seyyid Barghash.
1872	The British India Steam Navigation Company commences a monthly mail service between Zanzibar and Aden.
1873	The Slave Market of Zanzibar closed.
1874	Freretown founded.
1879	The cable completed between Zanzibar and Aden.
1882	Death of Bishop Steere.
1884	Arrival of Dr. Karl Peters on the mainland coast opposite Zanzibar.
1885	Formation of the German East Africa Company. German annexation of a large part of the Sultan's mainland dominions.
1886	The Delimitation Treaty.
1888	The German East Africa Company took over the administration of coastal area (between Rivers Rovuma and Umba).
1888	Formation of the Imperial British East Africa Company
1890	Proclamation of British Protectorate over Zanzibar and Pemba.
	Rights of the Sultan of Zanzibar over the coastal belt between Rovuma and Umba purchased by Germany.
1892	Barawa, Merka, Mogadishu, and Warsheikh ceded by the Sultan of Zanzibar to Italy.
1895	Termination of the Imperial British East Africa Company.
1896	Attempt of Seyyid Khaled to usurp the throne of Zanzibar, and bombardment of Palace by H.M. ships.
1897	Legal status of slavery abolished.
1911	Accession of Seyyid Khalifa to the Sultanate of Zanzibar.
1914	Outbreak of the Great War.
1918	Termination of the Great War.

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